

The Life and Works of Tācī-zāde Ca'fer Çelebi,
with a critical edition of his Dīvān

by

İsmail E. Erünsal

Thesis presented for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Edinburgh

April 1977



ABSTRACT

Tācī-zāde Ca'fer Çelebi (856?/1452 - 921/1515) was a prominent figure in the political life of Ottoman society in the late 15th and early 16th centuries, who both as a member of the Council of State and as a personality of distinction in the literary activities of the period was able to influence future developments in these spheres. However, apart from a few articles in works of an encyclopaedic nature, no study has hitherto been devoted to his life and his literary works, most of which have remained unpublished. What judgments have been expressed on his position in Ottoman poetical literature have, consequently, been based on only the most superficial acquaintance with his writings and have little validity.

The present thesis collects all the existing information on his life and his career, and presents for the first time a reliable biography, seeking as well, by a study of all his works, to establish his position in the literary environment of the age. In the second part there is given in transcription a critical edition of his Dīvān, for which all the existing manuscripts of the work have been used. The aim here has been to achieve a correct text which may be used with confidence by students of this period of Ottoman literature.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to express my appreciation to my supervisor Mr J. R. Walsh, Head of the Department of Turkish, for the valuable help and encouragement he has given me, and for his constant supervision throughout the course of my studies.

I am grateful to the librarians of the University of Edinburgh Library for their assistance, and, in particular to Miss I. Crawford, the departmental secretary, for all the help she has given me during my stay in Edinburgh. Thanks also go to Miss C. M. Woodhead for typing the English text of the thesis.

INTRODUCTION

Tācī-zāde Ca'fer Çelebi may be regarded as one of the representative men of Ottoman society in the late 15th and early 16th centuries. A scholar, a poet and a statesman, he achieved distinction in the nascent educational and administrative institutions, and by his poetry and prose works contributed to the cultural life of the new society and the formation of a language in which this might find expression. While regarded as a poet of secondary rank, his verse is still superior to that of most of his contemporaries; and were it not that he was rivalled by such great poets as Ahmed Paşa, Necâtî and Mesîhî, it is likely that his reputation would have been greater than later critics allowed.

He lived in one of the most dynamic periods of Ottoman history, at that very time when the foundations were being laid for the distinctive Islamic Society created by the Ottomans; and for much of his life he was associated with the governmental apparatus that was guiding and shaping this. The efforts of Mehmed II to adorn his new capital with monuments commensurate to the greatness of his Christian predecessors were matched by his care that these should be staffed and directed by the most eminent figures in learning and culture

that the Islamic East had to provide.⁽¹⁾ These foreigners were a stimulus and a challenge to the native scholars, who sought to emulate and exceed them within their own cultural milieu. That the poetry of Persia could be given an authentic Ottoman voice had been the contribution of the Ahmed Paşas and the Necātīs, and in elegant prose composition it was men such as Ca'fer Çelebi who demonstrated that Turkish could be no less beautiful and expressive than that of the Persian münşīs.

Those features of literature and learning which were later to become the lifeless stereotypes of Ottoman culture found their first expression in this period, and they present themselves to us with vigour and freshness. One can sense the élan and enthusiasm of a new creative impulse in much of the

- (1) Her kanda bir 'Ālim-i mütebahhır-ü-müteferrid var ise, eger diyār-ı Hindde ve eger vilāyet-i Sindde, hezār ikrām ve iltifātla yolında bezl-i māl-ü-menāl idüb, menāşıb-ı 'Āliye ve merātib-i me'Āliye birle istimāletler virüb, bi-ż-żarüre her birine vedā'-ı vaṭan ve terk-i mesken itdürürmiş. Laṭīfī, pp. 61-2.

See also Hanna Sohrweide, 'Dichter und Gelehrte aus dem Osten im Osmanischen Reich (1453-1600), Ein Beitrag zur türkisch-persischen Kulturgeschichte', Der Islam 46 (1970), pp. 262-302.

literary productions associated with the reigns of Mehmed II and Bāyezīd II, the latter being no less concerned than his father to foster the intellectual and artistic activities that would lend renown to the dynasty.⁽¹⁾ A man of many talents such as Ca'fer Çelebi found here an ideal situation in which to develop and mature; and the very frequency of his complaints in his poetry that he was not receiving due recognition for his qualities must be taken as an indication that such attributes commanded, and were expected to command, reward from the very centre of power.

After having achieved a position within the administrative institution, Ca'fer himself was able to extend such patronage to men of ability in both poetry and prose writing, and in this way fostered the cultural activities of the age as well as contributing to them. It is to cultivated personalities of this kind that we must look if we would wish to explain the flourishing literary life of Bāyezīd's reign, a period that contributed as much to the spiritual development of Ottoman society as had his predecessor's to its military and

(1) ... Bunlaruñ 'ahd-u-'aşrında şu'ārā çokdı ve ol devrde nazm-ı le'ālī-intizāmıdan bihter bir kālā-yı rā'ic yokdı. Şu'ārā-yı Rūmuñ ekşer ser-āmedleri bunlar devrinde gelmişlerdür ve bu 'aşırda şöhet bulmışlardır. Ve cevā'iz ve 'aṭāyāsın ve vazā'if ve sāliyānesin yer otuz neferden mütecaviz şā'ir-i māhir var idi. Ve vilāyet-i 'Acemde bunlardan daḥi Mevlānā Cāmīye her sāl bin 'aded filori varurdu. Latīfī, p. 63.

political achievements. The poet was accorded as of right a position in society; not as a teacher or a preacher, but as one who tempered and refined the spirit of what was still basically a military state, in which the attitude of the camp intruded even into urban life. Ca'fer's own tragic end illustrates how difficult it was to resolve the contradictory tendencies, when the renewed military energies of the state under Selīm allowed the balance which seemed to have been achieved by Bāyezīd II to swing once again in favour of the soldier.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Ahmed Paşa	Ali Nihad Tarlan, <u>Ahmed Paşa Divanı</u> , Istanbul 1966
Amasya Tarihi	Hüseyin Hüsameddîn, <u>Amasya Tarihi</u> , 4 vols. Istanbul 1327-1928
'Aşık Çelebi	<u>Meşā'irü 'ş-Şu'arā or Tezkire of 'Aşık Çelebi</u> , ed. G. M. Meredith-Owens, London 1971
'Aşıkpaşa-zāde	<u>Tevārīh-i Āl-i 'Osmāndan 'Aşıkpaşa-zāde Tarīhi</u> , ed. 'Alī Beg, Istanbul 1332
Belle ten	<u>Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten</u> , Ankara 1934-
Beyānī	Beyānī, <u>Tezkiretü 'ş-Şu'arā</u> , Millet Library no. 757, Istanbul
DTCF	Dil ve Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi
EI	<u>Encyclopaedia of Islam</u> , Leyden 1913-1942
EI ²	<u>Encyclopaedia of Islam</u> , London 1960-
Enverī	Enverī, <u>Düsturnāme-i Enverī</u> , ed. M. Halil, Istanbul 1928
Ferīdūn Beg ¹	Ferīdūn Beg, <u>Münşe'atü 's-Selātīn</u> , 2 vols. Istanbul 1264

- Ferīdūn Beg² Ferīdūn Beg, Münşe'ātü 's-Selāṭīn, 2 vols. Istanbul 1274
- Feth-nāme Tācī-zāde Ca'fer Çelebi, Mahrūse-i İstanbul Feth-nāmesi, ed. Hāliş Efendi (as a supplement to TOEM, 20-21), Istanbul 1331
- Fundamenta Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta, Vol. 2, Wiesbaden 1964
- GOD Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst, 4 vols. Pesth, 1836-8
- HOP E. J. W. Gibb, History of Ottoman Poetry, 6 vols. reprint London 1953-63
- İA İslam Ansiklopedisi, Istanbul 1950 -
- İKTYDK İstanbul Kitaplıkları Türkçe Yazma Divanlar Katalogu, vol. 1, Istanbul 1947.
- İlmiye Teşkilâti İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, İlmiye Teşkilâtı, Ankara 1965
- İn'āmāt Defteri Defter-i Müsveddât-ı İn'āmāt ve Taşaddukāt ve Teşrîfât ve İrsâliyât ve ğayrihi, Belediye Library, Muallim Cevdet Mss. O.71, Istanbul
- İstanbul Tahrir Defteri İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri, 953(1546) Tarihli, ed. Ö. L. Barkan and E. H. Ayverdi, Istanbul 1970

- KZ Kātib Çelebi, Keşfü 'z-Zünün ... 2 vols.
ed. Kilisli Rifat Bilge and Şerafeddin Yaltkaya,
Istanbul 1941
- Kaf-zāde Fā'izī Kaf-zāde Fā'izī, Zübdetü 'l-Eş'ār, Süleymaniye
Library, Şehid Ali Paşa, no. 1377, Istanbul
- Kınalı-zāde Kınalı-zāde Hasan Çelebi, Tezkire-i Şu'arā,
British Museum Add. 24 957, London
- Kritovulos K̄ritovulos, Tarih-i Sultān Mehmed Hān Sānī,
trans. Karolidi, Istanbul 1328
- Kūnhü 'l-Aḥbār Muştafā 'Alī, Gelibolulu, Kūnhü 'l-Aḥbār,
University Library, TY 2290, Istanbul
- Laṭifī Laṭifī, Tezkire-i Laṭifī, Istanbul 1314
- Luṭfī Paşa, Tevārīḥ
Luṭfī Paşa, Tevārīḥ-i Āl-i 'Osmān, ed. 'Alī
Beg, Istanbul 1341
- Me'āşir Celāl-zāde Muştafā Çelebi, Me'āşir-i Selīm
Hān, British Museum Add. 7848, London
- Mecdī Mehmed Mecdī Efendi, Hadā'ikü 'ş-Şakā'ik,
Istanbul 1269
- Mesīhī Mine Özoğul, The Divan of the 15th century
Ottoman poet Mesīhī, Ph.D. Edinburgh University
1969

- Müneccimbaşı Müneccimbaşı Ahmed Dede, Müneccimbaşı Tarihi, 2 vols. trans. İsmail Erünsal, Istanbul 1974
- Münşe'ât Tācī-zāde Sadī Çelebi Münşe'âtı, ed. Necati Lugal and Adnan Erzi, Istanbul 1956
- Necātī Ali Nihad Tarlan, Necati Beg Divanı, Istanbul 1963
- Neşrī Mehmed Neşrī, Kitāb-ı Cihān-nümā, Neşrī Tarihi, ed. F. R. Unat and M. A. Köymen, 2 vols, Ankara 1949-57
- Nişāncılar Hüseyn Hüsameddīn, Nişāncılar Duracı
- 'OM Bursalı Mehmed Tāhir, 'Osmānlı Mü'ellifleri, vol. I, Istanbul 1333
- Riyāzī Riyāzī Mehmed b. Muṣṭafā, Riyāzu 'ş-Şu'arā, Nuruosmaniye Library no. 3724 Istanbul
- SO Mehmed Süreyyā, Sicill-i 'Osmānī, 4 vols. Istanbul 1308-1315
- Sa'dī Çelebi Mecnū'ası Tācī-zāde Sa'dī Çelebi, Sa'dī Çelebi Mecnū'ası Beyazıd Library Veliyüddin Efendi, no. 3258, Istanbul
- Sehī Sehī, Tezkire-i Sehī, Istanbul 1325

- Selīm-nāmes Ahmed Uğur, The Reign of Sultan Selim I in the light of the Selīm-nāme literature, Ph.D. Edinburgh University 1973
- Süllem Kātib Çelebi, Süllemü 'l-Vüṣūl, Süleymaniye Library, Şehid Ali Paşa, no. 1337 Istanbul
- ŞN Taşköprü-zāde Ahmed b. Muṣṭafā, eş-Şakā'ikü 'n-Nu'māniye fī 'ulemāi 'd-Devleti 'l-'Osmāniye in the margin of Vefeyātü 'l-A'yān, Mısır 1310
- Şeyhī Türk Dil Kurumu, Şeyhī Divanı, Istanbul 1942
- TD Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi, Istanbul 1949-
- TDAYB Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı Belleten, Ankara 1950-
- TDED Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi, Istanbul 1946-
- TOEM Tarih-i 'Osmānī Encümeni Mecnū'ası, Istanbul
- TŞ Sadeddin Nüzhet Ergun, Türk Şairleri, vol. 2, Istanbul 1938
- Tācu 't-Tevārīḥ Hoca Sa'deddīn b. Ḥasan Can, Tācu 't-Tevārīḥ, vol. 2, Istanbul 1280
- Tevārīḥ Friedrich Giese, Die Altosmanischen Anonymen Chroniken, vol. I, Breslau, 1922

- Tuḥfe-i Ḥaṭṭāṭīn Müstakīm-zāde Süleyman Sa'düddīn Efendi,
Tuḥfe-i Ḥaṭṭāṭīn, ed. İbnü 'l-Emīn Maḥmūd
 Kemāl, Istanbul 1928
- Ṭursun Beg Ṭursun Beg, Tarīḥ-i Ebu 'l-Feth, ed. Mehmed
 'Arif, Istanbul 1330
- ZDMG Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenlandischen
 Gesellschaft, 1347-
- Zātī Ali Nihad Tarlan, Zātī Divanı, 2 vols.
 Istanbul 1968-70

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Introduction	iii
List of Abbreviations	vii
Table of Contents	xiii

PART ONE

A. Survey of the Sources	
1. Existing studies on Ca'fer Çelebi	1
2. Sources for the biography of Ca'fer Çelebi	2
B. The Life of Ca'fer Çelebi	9
His Family - Education - Academic Career - Official Career - His Death	
C. The Works of Ca'fer Çelebi	
1. <u>Heves-nāme</u>	44
2. <u>Mahrūse-i İstanbul Feth-nāmesi</u>	62
3. <u>Münşe'āt</u>	69
4. <u>Enīsü 'l-'Arifīn</u>	75
5. <u>Kūs-nāme</u>	78

D. Literary Personality of Ca'fer Çelebi	
1. The Literary Environment	80
2. His style	106
3. Metre, rhyme, assonance and alliteration	116
E. The <u>Dīvān</u> of Ca'fer Çelebi	
1. The manuscripts, the <u>secere</u> of the manuscripts, and their contents	124
2. The system of editing	136
Bibliography	139
Appendix A	154
Appendix B	180

PART TWO

The critical edition of the Dīvān of Ca'fer Çelebi.

1. The coding of the metres	2
2. Abbreviations of Manuscripts	3
3. <u>Münācāt</u> , <u>kaṣā'id</u> , <u>tercī'āt</u>	4
4. <u>Ġazelīyāt</u>	239
5. <u>Kıta'āt</u>	511
6. Arabic poems	532
7. Persian poems	546

PART ONE

A. SURVEY OF THE SOURCES

1. Existing studies on Ca'fer Çelebi

The brief accounts of Ca'fer Çelebi's life given by von Hammer, Gibb and S. N. Ergun are all derived more or less from the notices given in the tezkires, and the only serious effort to expand this information is in the contribution by T. Gökbilgin to the İslam Ansiklopedisi.⁽¹⁾ Von Hammer relies principally on Kınalı-zāde's Tezkire, offering no critical observations on the work of the poet; but Gibb uses, in addition, Sehī, Laṭīfī 'Aşık Çelebi and 'Alī's Kūnhü 'l-Aḥbār, and even tries to explain away the adverse opinions of the latter. Gibb, moreover, has remarks to make on the quality of Ca'fer's poetry, but having to rely on an incomplete copy of his Dīvān - that now in the British Museum - these are not to be regarded as well-informed. He does no more than allude to Ca'fer's importance as a statesman, and ignores entirely his contribution to inşā-literature.

In TŞ, S. N. Ergun repeats the notices given in the tezkires more extensively than the above, without, however, attempting to verify this information or to give a personal assessment of Ca'fer's work. Most of the dates given here can be shown to be incorrect.⁽²⁾ T. Gökbilgin, relying mainly on

(1) GOD, I, pp.180-4; HOP, II, pp. 263-85; TŞ, II, pp.832-890; İA, III, pp.8-10.

(2) For a discussion of dates, see pp. 20, 25, 37.

S. N. Ergun, repeats some of his errors; but in addition to the tezkires, he also examines the historical sources, and provides the most information on Ca'fer's career as a statesman. He has no opinion to express on the literary personality of his subject, contenting himself with repeating the summary judgement offered by M. F. Köprülü in his Eski Şairlerimiz, Divan Edebiyatı Antologisi (İstanbul, 1949).

V. L. Menage's brief article on Ca'fer Çelebi in EI² is correct in the facts given, but neither W. Björkman, in the Fundamenta, nor A. Bombaci, in the Storia Della Letteratura Turca, have anything new to contribute, and merely repeat what is to be found in the works mentioned above. N. S. Banarlı, in the Resimli Türk Edebiyatı does no more than summarize T. Gökbilgin's article.

2. Sources for the biography of Ca'fer Çelebi.

a. Ca'fer Çelebi's Dīvān and Heves-nāme.

The works of the poet himself will, of course, be the first and most reliable source for his own biography. In this way can be shown to some extent the relationship between his life and his poetry, admittedly very slight and tenuous. It is true that there are certain indications in Ca'fer's kaşīdes and the Heves-nāme which might be taken as contributions towards his biography, but in general these are slight and often obscure. Unless they could be substantiated from other sources, it was thought best to ignore them. In fact, the persona of the Ottoman poet was quite distinct from the actual personality of

of the man, and this distinction is deliberately maintained. Just as it would be pointless to seek for sincerity or emotional honesty in such poetry, so too must apparent allusion to events and individuals be treated with the utmost reserve. Only those verses which are usually collected in the kıta'āt section of dīvāns can be held to be informative, and these are for the most part no more than versified letters, as, for example, Ca'fer's Hasb-ı hāl in the present Dīvān (p. 512).

b. Tezkires

There is a relatively large amount of information about Ca'fer Çelebi in the tezkires. Although this is not arranged systematically, it is still indispensable as an indication to what extent a poet's work was appreciated by his contemporaries, near-contemporaries and by succeeding generations. In particular, the anecdotes scattered throughout the tezkires are often our only means of throwing light upon the character and personality of a poet and upon his private life.

The earliest tezkire, Hes̄t Bihis̄t, compiled by Seh̄ Beg in 945 (1533) is very succinct and usually gives only the briefest biographical details. Since Seh̄ Beg wrote his tezkire soon after Ca'fer's death, the information given by him can be considered a contemporary appreciation, though what value should be attached to the opinions of so indiscriminating a critic is questionable. Nor is his biographical information in any way proportionate to the importance of Ca'fer Çelebi both as a statesman and a writer.

The second tezkiye which notices Ca'fer Çelebi is that of Laṭīfī which was completed in 953 (1546). Although Laṭīfī gives relatively little biographical information, his appreciative remarks on the Heves-nāme are of significance as evidence of the popularity of the Heves-nāme in Istanbul at this time.

'Aşık Çelebi's tezkiye, Meşā'irü 'ş-Şu'ārā, completed in 976 (1568-69), provides much of our information about Ca'fer's personality, private life and his relations with his contemporaries. Apart from devoting a special entry to Ca'fer Çelebi, 'Aşık Çelebi also refers to him in a few other places, telling stories about him and his poet friends. These cast an interesting light on Ca'fer Çelebi's character.

Kınalı-zāde's tezkiye, written almost twenty years later than 'Aşık Çelebi's Meşā'irü 'ş-Şu'ārā, does not add much to our knowledge of Ca'fer's life. Kınalı-zāde drew almost all of his information from 'Aşık Çelebi but he does give one interesting fact concerning the profession of Ca'fer's father Tācī Beg, which cannot be found in any other tezkiye. As this information is supported by a reference in the archives, it would appear to indicate that Kınalı-zāde's work could contain original material in places.

Riyāzī's and Kaf-zāde Fā'izī's tezkiyes can be considered to be of no importance as regards this study, for the former merely repeats Kınalı-zāde Ḥasan Çelebi and the latter, apart from mentioning a few poems by Ca'fer, does not attempt to give any account of his life. Beyānī's tezkiye, being a shortened version of the tezkiye of Kınalı-zāde, has no particular value.

c. Biographical and bibliographical works.

Taşköpri-zāde's biographical dictionary of the early Ottoman scholars and mystics, Şakā'ik-i Nu'māniye, provides information about Ca'fer Çelebi and his career which has all the appearance of accuracy. The work was written in Arabic, but the expanded translation made by Edirneli Mecdī Efendi in 995 (1587) has been used much more by Turkish scholars than the original. In our study, because of some omission in Mecdī's translation, both the original Şakā'ik-i Nu'māniye and the translation have been used.

Kātib Çelebi's bibliographical work Keşfü 'z-Zünūn does not give much information about the life of Ca'fer Çelebi, but mention is made of four of his works. Kātib Çelebi's other work Süllemü 'l-Vüṣūl, designed to give information about the authors whose works are mentioned in the Keşfü 'z-Zünūn, also adds something to our knowledge. In İsmail Paşa's supplement to the Keşfü 'z-Zünūn we find mention only of Ca'fer's work Mahrūse-i İstanbul Fetihnāmesi.

Müstakīm-zāde's work on the biography of Ottoman calligraphers, Tuḥfe-i Haṭṭātīn, is of particular interest for its appreciation of Ca'fer and his father Tācī Beg as calligraphers.

Hüseyin Hüsameddīn's unpublished work on Ottoman nişāncıs, Nişāncılar Duracı,⁽¹⁾ in spite of the new information with which

(1) See for the description of this work: Turgut Akpınar, 'Amasya Tarihi Yazarı Hüseyin Hüsameddin ve Bilinmeyen Eserleri', Bibliyografya, I, 3 (Ankara 1972), pp. 163-8.

it provides us, has been used cautiously, for in some cases it was not possible to find enough supporting evidence to establish its accuracy. The same can be said for his published work on Amasya, Amasya Tarihi.

Both 'Osmānlı Mü'ellifleri and Sicilli 'Osmānī, confined as they are to the merest outlines of biographical or bibliographical detail, add nothing new to our knowledge.

d. Historical sources.

1. Selīm-nāmes.

Since the most accurate account of the reign of Sultān Selīm is to be found in that body of works called collectively Selīm-nāmes, all these were examined for what information they might add to the other sources. Apart from Celāl-zāde's Me'āşir and Şükrü's Selīm-nāme, the other works of this class do not have much to offer. The reasons for Ca'fer's execution are given in a completely different way by Celāl-zāde and Şükrü, and a discussion of both accounts is given in the section on Ca'fer's life.

2. General histories.

In the historical works which cover the reigns of Bāyezīd II and Selīm I, there are to be found some references to Ca'fer Çelebi, throwing light in particular on his activity as a statesman during the events which took place before Bāyezīd's abdication and in the course of the Çaldıran campaign. For the present study, the works of 'Aşık Paşa-zāde, Luţfī Paşa, İbn-i Kemāl, Hoca Sa'deddīn, 'Alī and Müneccim-başı were consulted and the accuracy of their information evaluated.

e. Archival materials.

In the Belediye Library in Istanbul there is to be found a defter called Defter-i Müsveddât-ı İn'âmât ve Taşaddukât ve Teşrîfât ve İrsâliyât ve ğayrihi which records the gifts given by Bāyezīd II to his subjects on various occasions.⁽¹⁾ This defter is of great importance for the history of Turkish literature, as it gives precise information on most of the poets living during the reign of Bāyezīd II. The references made therein to Ca'fer Çelebi are used in this study.

Research in Başvekalet Arşivi produced some records written in the tapu defters by Ca'fer Çelebi while he was in the office of nişāncı.⁽²⁾ The same archive also contains a fermān of Mehmed II in which mention is made of Ca'fer Çelebi's father Tācī Beg and his mother,⁽³⁾ and two vakfiyes prepared for Ca'fer's pious foundations.⁽⁴⁾ In Topkapı Palace Archive, in an envelope containing poems written for Bāyezīd II, there is an Arabic kaşīde by Ca'fer,⁽⁵⁾ probably written in his own hand, and also a vakfiye for which Ca'fer Çelebi is mentioned among the witnesses.⁽⁶⁾

In the İstanbul Tahrīr Defteri, published by E. H. Ayverdi and Ö. L. Barkan, there is to be found some information concerning Ca'fer Çelebi's and his brother Sa'dī Çelebi's vakfiyes.

(1) Mu'allim Cevdet Mss. no. 0.71.

(2) Başvekalet Archive, no. 15, 19, 20, 77, 128, 370.

(3) " " , Ali Emiri Section, no. 32.

(4) " " no. 19, 251, 1070.

(5) E. 344/23.

(6) Şüret-i Vakfiye-i Muştafā Paşa der Üsküb. No. E. 7024.

The Bāyezīd Library in Istanbul possesses a collection of writings by Sa'dī Çelebi, the brother of Ca'fer Çelebi, under the title Sa'dī Çelebi Mecmū'ası.⁽¹⁾ Besides a letter and chronograms written by Ca'fer Çelebi, the Mecmū'a also contains letters sent to him by his brother. Certain parts of this Mecmū'a were published by Necati Lugal and Adnan Erzi as Tācī-zāde Sa'dī Çelebi Münşe'âtı (Istanbul 1956). In the present study reference has been made where possible to this published work; otherwise, material from unpublished parts of the Mecmū'a has been cited.

(1) Veliyüddin Efendi Mss. No. 3253.

B. THE LIFE OF CA'FER ÇELEBI

The only source in which any mention is made of the genealogy of Ca'fer Çelebi is Hüseyn Hüsameddin's still unpublished Nişancılar Durağı.⁽¹⁾ As has often been the complaint of his major work, Amasya Tarihi, here, too, he neglects to show from where he derived his information, which consequently must be treated with reserve. The notice on Ca'fer Çelebi is to be found on pages 68 - 73, and begins:

Ca'fer Çelebi : Amasyalıdır. İstanbulda Tācī Beg dimekle meşhūr olan Kefe Beglerbegisi Hācī Beg-zāde Tācūddīn İbrāhīm Paşa b. Şafīyūddīn Muştafā Çelebi b. Gāzī Mehmed Beg b. eş-Şeyh 'Alā'eddīn 'Alī b. İbrāhīm maḥdūmu olub, Tācī Beg-zāde dimekle meşhūrdur.

No mention is to be found in the usual sources about any of the individuals mentioned in this genealogy, and it is only about his father, Tācī Beg, that we have information which may be regarded as historical.

According to Laṭīfī⁽²⁾ and 'Aşık Çelebi,⁽³⁾ Tācī Beg came from a noble family. In the Amasya Tarihi (III, 226)

-
- (1) The only copy of this work is in the private possession of his son, Kemaleddin Yaşar, now resident in Istanbul. See for description of this work; Turgut Akpınar, 'Amasya Tarihi Yazarı Hüseyn Hüsameddin ve Bilinmeyen Eserleri', Bibliyografya, I, 3 (Ankara 1972), pp. 163-8.
- (2) 'Ulūv-i neseb ve kemāl-i ḥaseble mevşūfdur. Laṭīfī, p.117.
- (3) Tācī Beglüler Rūmda şeref ve cāh ile ma'rūf ḥānedān ve āzāde ve ḥān-zādedür. 'Aşık Çelebi, 60a.

Ḥüseyin Ḥüsameddīn places Tācī Beg among the retainers of Ḥācī Beg-zāde Ḥalīl Beg b. Ġāzī Mehmed Beg in Amasya, and says that in 866 (1461-2) he entered the service of Şehzāde Bāyezīd, who at that time was governor of the province. It would seem that he gained the confidence and the respect of the future sultān, and in the SN (I, 487) he is spoken of as his müdebbirü 'l-umūr.⁽¹⁾ In the Başvekalet Arşivi (Ali Emiri tasnifi no. 32) there is a ferman of Sultān Mehmed II, dated 883(1478), in which it is mentioned that the wife of Tācī purchased a village from Bāyezīd's mother; Tācī Beg is therein described as oğlum kapusunda hizmet iden. In the same archive there is the tahrīr defteri for Tokat which also dates from the time of Mehmed II, and on page 49 Tācī Beg is mentioned among the military chiefs (ser-'asker) of Amasya.⁽²⁾

(1) 'Aşık Çelebi (60a) calls him the lālā of Şehzāde Bāyezīd, but 'Alī (Künhü 'l-Aḥbār, 204a-b) says that 'Aşık Çelebi was confused by the title "beg" and that in fact he was only his müdebbirü 'l-umūr, which he explains meant ḥaṣṣa emīni. Kātib Çelebi (Süllemü 'l-vüṣūl, Şehid Ali Paşa 1837, p. 365) also calls him the müdebbirü 'l-umūr. In his introduction to Ca'fer Çelebi's Mahrūse-i İstanbul Feth-nāmesi (supplement to TOEM, 20-21) Ḥālīş Efendi also refers to Tācī Beg as the lālā of Şehzāde Bāyezīd, although he may be merely following 'Aşık Çelebi in this.

(2) Tokat Tahrīr Defteri No. 15. For the reproduction of this record see Appendix A.1. Kınalı-zāde also says that Ca'fer's father was şāhib-i seyf, which means that he was from the military class (70a).

Very little reliance can be placed on the other information about Tācī Beg, given by Hüseyn Hüsameddīn in his Amasya Tarihi. In 875(1470-1), we are told that Tācī Beg, a poet of Amasya, became nişāncı to Şehzāde Bāyezīd (iii, 228); in 883 (1478), he is said to have fled to Baghdad to escape Mehmed II's punishment for having encouraged Şehzāde Bāyezīd in dissolute practices (iii, 231).⁽¹⁾ In 887(1482), however, he returned from Baghdad to Amasya and again became nişāncı, presumably to Şehzāde Ahmed for by this time Bāyezīd had become sultān. (iii, 235). The other information given in this work is very doubtful, and seems hardly worth repeating.

In the Bedā'i'ü'l-Vekā'i a story is related from Ca'fer Çelebi about how his father, while in Amasya, had been given a purse of 3000 akçes by Şehzāde Bāyezīd to be distributed amongst the dervishes of Çelebi Halife (Şeyh Mehmed Çelebi el-Cemālī el-Karamanī) in order that they might pray for his intention.⁽²⁾ This may be taken as indicating a close relation between Tācī Beg and Şehzāde Bāyezīd, which would certainly have favoured the fortunes of Ca'fer after the latter ascended the throne.

(1) The document in Ferīdūn Beg's Münşe'āt (I, 263-4) to which Hüseyn Hüsameddīn refers does not mention Tācī Beg among the individuals accused by the sultān. The document, moreover, is dated 12 Muharrem 884 - the Amasya Tarihi would have it written in 873 or 881!

(2) Hüseyn, Bedā'i'ü'l-Vekā'i, II, 310a, ed. A. S. Tveritina, Moscow 1961.

The date of Tācī Beg's death would seem to be beyond dispute: in four chronograms given at the end of his son Sa'dī Çelebi's Münşe'ât this is fixed at 890(1485).⁽¹⁾ In the Süllem Kātib Çelebi says that his death occurred in Muḥarrem of this year, and that he was then fifty-four years of age;⁽²⁾ this would place his birth in 836(1432-3).⁽³⁾

In the two tezkires, Tācī Beg is included among the poets of his age. Laṭīfī describes him as the defterdār of Şehzāde Bāyezīd in Amasya and quotes a single maṭla' as a sample of his work:⁽⁴⁾

Göz yaşlu gönül zülf-i perīşānlar içinde
Kaldum karamu gicede bārānlar içinde

Kınalı-zāde Ḥasan Çelebi merely repeats Laṭīfī, who was clearly

(1) Sa'dī Çelebi Münşe'âtı, ed. Necati Lugal and Adnan Erzi (Istanbul 1956), pp. 68-69. Despite this definite evidence, the editors still attribute a letter dated 906 to Tācī Beg! (Introduction vii) The letter is by Ca'fer Çelebi, who in this work is usually referred to as Efendi.

(2) Süllem, p. 365.

(3) The name of his wife (or maybe of one of his wives) is recorded as Rabī'a Ḥatun. Cf. Ö. L. Barkan, 'Ayasofya Camii ve Eyüb Türbesinin 1489-1491 yıllarına ait Muhasebe bilançoları,' İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası, XXIII, 1-2, (Istanbul 1962), p. 359. In the same Muhasebe mention is made of his two sons Ca'fer and Sa'dī as recipients of incomes from the wakıfs of Ayasofya and Eyüb Türbesi between the years 1489 and 1491 (p. 357).

(4) p. 103.

his only source, and offers the same verse (67b).

In the Tuhfe-i Ḥaṭṭātīn (p. 147) he is listed among the calligraphers and is said to have studied the art along with Şeyḥ Ḥamdullāh, but the name of their master is not mentioned. (1)

Ca'fer is reported to have been born in Amasya in Şa'ban 856 (Aug. 1452). (2) His early education in this city was received from Şeyḥī-zāde 'Abdī, Mu'īd-zāde Muḥyiddīn Meḥmed,

(1) According to Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi no examples of his calligraphy have survived (Fatih Devri Hattatları ve Hat Sanatı, Istanbul 1953, p. 49).

(2) This date is given by Hüseynin Hüsameddīn in Nişancılar, p. 68; however, Kātib Çelebi in the Süllem (p. 69), says that he was 53 years of age when he died in 921, and this would put his birth in the year 868(1463-4).

In the Heves-nāme (85b), which was completed in 899(1493-4), reference is made to his love affair with a young woman which may have occurred shortly after his arrival in Istanbul about the year 891, in the course of which he refers to himself as being twenty-two years of age:

Egerçi her sözidür bir risāle

'Acebdür var ise bīst ü dü sāle

Although there can be no absolute confidence placed in such tenuous evidence, this might be taken as broadly confirming the date of birth which can be deduced from the Süllem.

Horāsānī-zāde es-Seyyid 'Abdullah Çelebi,⁽¹⁾ and because of the position and the interests of his father this would presumably be the best that could be found at that time.⁽²⁾

We do not know at what age he left Amasya to continue his studies under scholars of greater reputation, but it would seem likely that it was Bursa rather than Istanbul that would offer him an advanced education at this time. The Şemāniye in Istanbul did not begin to receive scholars until after Receb 875 (Jan. 1471), and most of the teachers under whom he is reported to have studied remained in Bursa to teach in the medreses of that city. According to ŞN, these were Hācī Hasan-zāde (d. 911/1505-6), el-Ḳaṣṭalanī (d. 901/1495-6), Hātib-zāde (d. 901/1495-6) and H^vāce-zāde (d. 893/1488).⁽³⁾ In the

(1) Nişancılar, p. 68.

(2) Sehī, p. 28; Künhü 'l-Aḥbār, 204b.

(3) ŞN, I, 487; Mecdī, 435. İ. H. Uzunçarşılı says that Hızır Beg, the first ḳādı of Istanbul was also one of Ca'fer's masters, but this would be impossible in as much as Hızır Beg died in 863! (İlmiye Teşkilâtı, p. 229)

In a chronogram by Ca'fer Çelebi to be found in his brother's Münşe'ât (p. 82), another of his teachers at this time would appear to have been Ḳādı-zāde (d. 899/1493-4):

Ḳādı-zāde mu'in-i şer'-i kavīm
 Ki merā bud bihterīn üstād
 Sevvümīn rüz ez meh-i ramazān
 Şud birün z'in sarāy-ı hüzn-ābād
 Her ki be-şnīd güft der tarīḥ
 Vaṭan-ı o behişt-i bākī bād

Heves-nāme he mentions several of the prominent scholars of the Şemāniye, amongst whom three of these names figure:

Şıfat-ı Şemāniye

Bu cāmi' çevresinde ol Şehinşāh
K'anı itsün ğarīk-i rahmet Allāh

Binā itmiş sekiz 'ālī medāris
Ki her birinde bir ulu müderris

Egerçi her biridür baħr-ı 'irfān
Velikin dördidür deryā-yı 'ummān

Ḥaṭīb-oğlu biri ol merd-i dānā
K'anuñla idemez baħş İbn-i Sīnā

Biri daħi 'Arab meşhūr-ı 'ālem
Sütüde kavli fi'li dīni muḥkem

Yiter fażlına anuñ bu 'alāme
Ki fetvāsı yürür Rūm ile Şāma

Biri deryā-yı dāniş Kaştalānī
K'odur ḥikmetde Eflāṭun-ı şānī

Biri Ḥācī Ḥasan-zāde Vahīdī
Zamānuñ muktedāsı vu ferīdi

Faẓīlet ma'deni vü 'ilm kānı
Şerī'at mesnedi Nu'mān-ı şānī

Musaḥḥar ṭab'ına ma'kūl-ü-menkūl
Selāmet üzre zihn-i pāki mecbūl

Bular erbāb-ı fażluñ 'umdesidür

Mevālī-yi 'izāmuñ zübdesidür

Heves-nāme 12a, 3-14

We may assume from the fact that he singles them out for special mention that they may have formerly been his own teachers in Bursa.

He received his mülāzemet from Hācī Hasan-zāde. (1) He himself speaks of his accomplishments (Dīvān, p. 112):

86. Kılmaşam hayli ehādise tefāsire nazar
Olmaşam ashāb-ı fıkḥ-ı dīn arasında benām

87. Çekmişem zahmet uşul ile furū'a bī-ḥesāb
İtmişem fenn-i kelām u ḥikmete çok ihtimām

As well as these formal studies, he also achieved a reputation as a calligrapher, having been a pupil of the famous Şeyḥ Ḥamdullah. (2)

According to 'Aşık Çelebi, Ca'fer Çelebi, having finished his studies, entered the career of teaching. (3) It seems probable that his first appointment was to the medrese in Simav, where he also acted as kāḍı. (4) Mecdī mentions a mosque (5) which he built in this city; and in the vakf for his other

(1) 'Aşık Çelebi, 60a; Kınalı-zāde, 70a; Riyāzī, 45b;
Künhü 'l-Aḥbār, 204b.

(2) Tuhfe-i Haṭṭātīn, p.148; 'OM, I, p.263.

(3) 'Aşık Çelebi, 60a.

(4) Nişāncılar, p. 68.

(5) Mecdī, p. 337.

mosque in Istanbul, provision is made for the stipends of the imām and the mü'ezzin of the one in Simav. (1)

Hüseyin Hüsameddîn records an interesting incident which must have occurred during this appointment:

Şehzāde Cem mes'elesinde mukaddemā müşārun ileyhe takdīm eylediği bir 'ubūdiyet-nāmesi tutulub taraf-dārılığ ile ithām edildiginden 889'da 'azl ve haps edildi. Yedikule zindanında bir-buçuğ yıl kadar kaldı. Sonra takdīm eylediği bir kaşidesi ve Amasyalı ricālin şefā'ati neticesinde 891'de ıtlāk edildi. (2)

The kaşide mentioned here would probably be that found on page 512 of his dīvān, and this would give relevance to such beyts as:

6. Şikāyetüm katı çokdur zemāneden şāhā
Ki ben kemīne huşūşında itdi çok takşīr

(1) Portions of this vakf are to be found in Tayyib Gökbilgin, Edirne ve Paşa Livası, (Istanbul 1952), p. 487; İstanbul Tahrir Defteri, p. 298; and Tapu Defteri, Başvekalet Arşivi, no. 251, pp. 531-2. The latter entry is reproduced in Appendix A.2.

(2) Nişāncılar, p. 68. In fact, we have a ta'rīh by Ca'fer on the death of Sultān Cem:

Zā'ir-i Beytü 'l-harem seyyāh-ı berr-ü-baḥr Cem
K'ide luṭfından Hüdā erzānī cennetler aña
Çün koyub miḥnet evin gitdi sarāy-ı rāḥata
İşidenler didiler ta'rīh rahmetler aña
Münşe'at, p. 83; the last part of the first mısrā' is defective.

7. Şu cürm içün ki 'udül eyledüm tarîkûmden
Döne döne feleg-i dūn-nevāz ide ta'zîr
13. Olan ħod oldu meżā mā meżā giden gitdi
Ki böyle yazmış imiş anı Kâtib-i takdîr
25. Yine tarîkûme varmağa eyleyüb himmet
Ĥarābe göñlümi anuñla eyleyem ta'mîr
28. Yemîn idem ki daĥi çıkmayam tarîkûmden
Eger yağarsa bu yolda başuma ĥançer-ü-tîr

There is no information available about what medrese in Istanbul he taught in⁽¹⁾ until the year 899(1493-4), when,

-
- (1) We have a letter written to him from Bursa by his brother, Sa'dî Çelebi, dated Receb 897, in which he is invited to visit him there, where he has so many good friends. In another letter, also from Bursa, dated 898, he is requested to maintain a correspondence with him. (Sa'dî Çelebi Mecmû'ası, 106b-108a) At this time Ca'fer was trying to obtain a more remunerative position, and in the kıt'a dedicated to 'Alî Paşa (Dīvān, p. 520), we may have an example of the efforts he was making for this purpose:

3. Neyyir-i burc-ı vefā ĥazret-i Paşa ki anuñ
Pertev-i rāyı durur şem'-i şebistān-ı kerem
8. Ġam bucağında revā mı ben olam ac u şusuz
İrişe ĥamulara āb-ı seĥā nān-ı kerem
10. Geçer ekşer günümüz kıllet ile himmet idüñ
Ki 'ināyet ide biz ĥulina sultān-ı kerem

(cont'd)

through the influence of Çandarlı İbrāhīm Paşa, he was given the medrese of Maḥmūd Paşa with a stipend of 50 akçe.⁽¹⁾ It was in 899 that he completed the Heves-nāme, but as the work is without a dedication we are unable to say to whom he may have presented it.

(cont'd from p.18):

11. Üstümüzden nazar-ı şefkatini eksimeyüb
Artura dirliğümüzi şeh-i devrân-ı kerem
12. Aşlsuz olduğ-içün yazusu timarumuzuñ
Niçe sa'y itdük ise çıkmadı ey kân-ı kerem
13. Meh-i âmālüm anuñ naķşı hilāl itdi velī
Var ümīdüm ki tamām ide bu nokşanı kerem

(1) Only Hüseyn Hüsameddīn in Nişāncılar (p. 68) mentions İbrāhīm Paşa in connection with this appointment, but it is not improbable that Ca'fer or his father Tācī Beg could have gained his friendship when he was in Amasya as the lālā of Şehzāde Bāyezīd. The chronogram for the appointment by his brother Sa'dī is given in the Münşe'āt, p. 82.

The information about his teaching career in ŞN, I, p. 483, (Mecdī, p. 335) and in the tezkires - Kınalı-zāde, 70a, Riyāzī, 45b - is summary and lacking in detail. Gibb, HOP, II, p. 264, is certainly wrong in saying that the medrese of Maḥmūd Paşa was his first appointment.

While still in this post - and probably in Reb. I, 903 (Oct. 1497) - he was appointed to the imperial Dīvān as nişancı.⁽¹⁾ According to 'Alī it had been decided that the person holding this office should be of the 'ulema class, and the members of the council were agreed that there was no one more deserving or capable than Ca'fer. On achieving this post he received the rank and style of paşa, and enjoyed most of the privileges of a vezīr.⁽²⁾ He was very conscious of his own dignity, and it was because of a protest that he made to the Sultān that the nişancı was henceforth given precedence over the defterdār in the Dīvān, and allowed a vezirial tent when on campaign.⁽³⁾

The earliest activity that can be discovered of his period in this office relates to the campaign against Moton and Koron in Ramażan 905 - Muḥarrem 906 (Apr. - Aug. 1500), in which he would appear to have participated.⁽⁴⁾ There is in his Dīvān a kaşide (p. 103), in which the taking of Moton is described

-
- (1) Nişancılar, p. 68. Three chronograms for this appointment are found in Sa'dī Çelebi's Münşe'ât, p. 85; S. N. Ergun, TŞ, II, erroneously gives the date as 904, and is probably the source for the same error in T. Gökbilgin, İA, III, p.8.
- (2) Künhü 'l-Aḥbār, 204b.
- (3) 'Aşık Çelebi, 60b.
- (4) In the Sa'dī Çelebi Mecmū'ası, we have two letters sent from Bursa by Sa'dī to Ca'fer, who was in Edirne, probably prior to the commencement of the campaign. Both are dated 905, the first seeking favours for certain of his friends (70b-71a), and the other asking that the muhtesib of Bursa, who was in financial difficulties, be given his assistance (102a-102b).

in detail; and it was he who wrote the feth-nāme of the campaign (dated Muḥarrem 906/July 1500), which appears in the Münşe'āt of Sa'dī Çelebi.⁽¹⁾ This was sent to Bursa from Moton.

Although his name does appear now and again in various connections in the subsequent years, it is not until the end of the reign of Bāyezīd II that he figures in any major event.⁽²⁾ Thus in the İn'āmāt defteri⁽³⁾ we find him recorded as having received a gift from the Sultān on 13 Reb. II 909 (5 Oct. 1503), in return for a kaşīde which he had written;⁽⁴⁾ and again on

(1) pp. 45-8.

(2) In the Sa'dī Çelebi Mecmū'ası, we have two letters written to him from Bursa in 906 by his brother Sa'dī, the first dated Ramaḥan, the other Zi 'l-Ḥicce. Both complain of Ca'fer's neglect in writing to him (62b-64a, 93b-14a resp.).

(3) The notices from this defter mentioned in the text are given in reproduction in Appendix A.

(4) İn'āmāt defteri, p. 16, Appendix A.3. It is very likely that this is the Benefşe Kaşīdesi (Dīvān p. 125), the 15th beyt of which speaks of the plague which struck Istanbul in 909 (1503):

15. Hāk oldı dirīgā bu yıl āsīb-i vebādan

Çok 'āriḫı gül turre-i tarrārı benefşe

The plague of 909 is mentioned in Müneccimbaşı II, p. 418.

The kaşīde is a naẓīre to that which Ahmed Paşa had earlier addressed to Sultān Cem, and reference to this is made at the end, in the beyt:

56. Bu şi'r sevādın okusun kanı ki Ahmed

Görsün ki nice olur imiş bārī benefşe

23 Cem. II 909 (13 Dec. 1503) he was rewarded for a letter he composed to be sent to the Sultān of Egypt.⁽¹⁾ On 5 Şa'ban 909 (23 Jan. 1504) and on 7 Receb 910 (14 Dec. 1504), he is also recorded as having received gifts, but in what connection is not disclosed.⁽²⁾ He is mentioned in four other places in this defter as a recipient of the Sultān's largesse: 12 Zī 'l-Ḳa'de 913 (15 Mar. 1503), 3 Reb. I 914 (2 May 1503), 15 Şevval 914 (6 Feb. 1509) and 24 Şevval 916 (24 Jan. 1511), but the reasons for the rewards are not stated.⁽³⁾

In the Tapu defteri, no. 20, in the Başvekalet Arşivi, there is to be found an entry in his hand recording the conferment of the Ḥasan Fakih Çiftliği to Dāvūd Paşa on 6 Reb. II 910 (16 Sep. 1504);⁽⁴⁾ and for Zī 'l-Ḳa'de of the same year he records in this register the villages which Bāyezīd had conferred on his daughter Şāh Sultān in 896 (1490-1).⁽⁵⁾ Again for Şa'ban 912 (Dec. 1506), we find in the same defter the entry in Ca'fer's

(1) İn'āmāt defteri, p. 25. Appendix, A.4.

(2) " " p. 32 and p. 87 resp. Appendix A.5 and A.6.

(3) " " pp. 262, 282, 318 and 419 resp. Appendix A.7, A.8, A.9 and A.10.

(4) Tapu defteri, no. 20, p. 45. Appendix A.11.

(5) " " " " p. 183, pp. 213-9. Appendix A.12.

hand recording the conferment by the Sultān of the village of Keşenlü near Edirne on Hanī Hatun, the daughter of Muştafa, the son of Mehmed II.⁽¹⁾

Subsequent mention of him is made in the İn'āmāt defteri under various years:

- 23 Cem. I 913 (1 Oct. 1507) : for a ta'ziye on the death of Şehzāde Mahmūd⁽²⁾
 14 Şafer 914 (14 Jun. 1508) : for a kaşide⁽³⁾
 17 Cem. II 915 (4 Oct. 1509) : on the occasion of the circumcision of his son⁽⁴⁾
 8 Zi'l-Ka'de 915 (18 Feb. 1510) : for a letter he wrote to the Sultān of Egypt⁽⁵⁾
 Receb 916 (Oct. 1510) : for a letter he wrote to the Sultān of Egypt⁽⁶⁾

In all the above entries he is described as holding the office of tevkī'ī (nişāncı).

(1) Tapu defteri, no. 20, p. 46. Appendix, A.13.

A reference to this entry made in 925 (1519), mentions that it was made by Ca'fer Çelebi in his own hand (Başvekalet Arşivi, no. 77, p. 128; Tapu defteri, no. 370, p. 14). Appendix A.14 and A.15 resp.

(2) İn'āmāt defteri, p. 236. Appendix, A.16.

(3) " " p. 279. " A.17.

(4) " " p. 351. " A.18.

(5) " " p. 366. " A.19.

(6) " " p. 402. " A.20.

In the struggle for the succession which was waged among the princes towards the end of the reign of Bāyezīd, Ca'fer supported the party of Şehzāde Ahmed, even going so far as to write a kaşīde in which he mentions him as vāris-i mülk and indicates that he expects him to be the future sultān: (1)

27. Vāris-i mülk şeh Ahmed ki kul olmağa aña
Yüzini göge tutub Tañrıdan ister nergis

71. Rişte-i nazm-i dūr-efşānum ile deste idüb
Gönderür bezm-i dil-āvīzüñe Ca'fer nergis

72. Ki el öpüb bulıcağ hizmet-i şāh ile şeref
Kemterin bendeden irgüre du'ālar nergis

75. Efser-i 'izz ü devlet kona Haktan başuña
Niçe kim zerden ura başına efser nergis

Bāyezīd had intended to abdicate in favour of Şehzāde Ahmed and had summoned him to Istanbul. While Ahmed was on his way to the capital, Bāyezīd II attempted to persuade the Janissaries to abandon Şehzāde Selīm and to rally around Ahmed. (2)
When Ahmed arrived at Üsküdar and camped there awaiting word

(1) Divān p. 194 ; in Tevārīh (ed. Giese, I, p. 131) he is spoken of along with the Kazasker Mü'eyyed-zāde and Yünüs Paşa as being "Sultān Ahmedlü". In ŞN, I, p. 488, no reference is made to his support for Şehzāde Ahmed, and he is said to have been dismissed from the office of tevki'i for a reason too long to go into.

(2) Müneccimbaşı, II, pp. 433-4.

from his father, a rumour spread among the Janissaries that Bāyezīd II and Ahmed's supporters were planning to bring Ahmed to Istanbul and proclaim him sultān.⁽¹⁾ To prevent this the Janissaries, who were in favour of Şehzāde Selīm's cause, attacked and looted the houses of the eminent members of Ahmed's group, including that of Ca'fer Çelebi, and he is said to have barely escaped with his life.⁽²⁾ The date of this event is variously given in the sources, but the most reliable is that found in the article by Ç. Uluçay on the accession of Selīm, 27 Cem. II 917 (21 Sep. 1511),⁽³⁾ which is based on an eye-witness report.

Following this riot Bāyezīd II gave way to the demands of the Janissaries and dismissed the nişāncı Ca'fer Çelebi, together with the grand vizier Hersekoğlu Ahmed Paşa, the beylerbeyi of Rumili Hasan Paşa and the kazasker Mü'eyyed-zāde Abdurrahman Çelebi and appointed Çandarlızāde 'İsā Çelebi to the position

(1) Tevārīh (ed. Giese) I, p. 131; Selīm-nāmes, p. 59.

(2) Tācu 't-Tevārīh II, pp. 190-1; İdrīs Bidlisī, Selīm-nāme (British Museum Ad. 24969) 54b-55a; Vekāyi'-i Sultān Bāyezīd ve Selīm Han (Topkapı Sarayı, Emanet Hazinesi no. 1416) 29b.

(3) Çagatay Uluçay, 'Yavuz Sultan Selim Nasıl Padişah Oldı', TD, VII, no. 10 (1954), p. 120. TŞ, II, p. 832 (918/1512); T. Gökbilgin, İ.A. III, p. 8 (918/1512). Marino Sanuto, Diari XXXII, p. 222, supports the date given by Ç. Uluçay : 21 September 1511.

of nişāncı.⁽¹⁾ According to ŞN, Bāyezīd II offered Ca'fer a pension of 100 akçes a day, which was refused.⁽²⁾

On 8 Şafer 918 (25 Apr. 1512) Bāyezīd II abdicated in favour of his son Selīm. Ca'fer wrote a Persian kaşīde to commemorate Selīm's accession.⁽³⁾

(1) İdrīs Bidlisī, Selīm-nāme, 55a; Vekāyi'-i Sultān Bāyezīd ve Selīm Han, 29b. In the Ottoman sources no date is given for the dismissal of these officials. İdrīs Bidlisī and Hoca Sa'deddīn, Tācu 't-Tevārih II, p. 190, suggest that they were dismissed on the day after the riot.

(2) ŞN, I, p. 438. In Künhü 'l-Aḥbār, 204b, the sum is given as 200 akçes. After Selīm's accession to the throne, this sum was augmented by the stipend from several kadılıks and was subsequently accepted by Ca'fer (ŞN, I, p. 438).

(3) This kaşīde exists only in Ms. M. (see Dīvān, p. 556).

The first beyt is: جان افرین که در ید ما نقد جان نهاد
بهر نثار راه شه کامران نهاد

'Aşık Çelebi, 61a-b, gives the following account of this event:

'Aceb hikmetdür ki Sultān Selīm merḥūm serīr-i saltanata cülūs itdükde ve Ca'fer Çelebi merḥūm tehniye-i cülūs içün dest-būs itdükde bu kaşīdeyi ithāf ider ki maṭla'ı:

جان افرین که بر کف ما نقد جهان نهاد
بهر نثار مقدم شاه جهان نهاد

Bu maṭla' egerçi bī-naẓīrdür amma taṭayyur idügi zāhirdür. Bu kaşīdeyi İshak Çelebi Işık Kāsım okudığında Işık Kāsım tekrār okuyub ber kef-i mā yerinde ber yed-i mā okur. İshak Çelebi mukābelede ber kef-i mā dir. Işık Kāsım "yine kef

Having abdicated, Bāyezīd II set out for Dimetoka to spend the remaining days of his life in his birthplace; but he died suddenly in the vicinity of Çorlu on the 10th of Reb. I 918 (26 May 1512).⁽¹⁾ Ca'fer wrote a mersiye on this occasion, in which he refers to the sorrow which afflicted Bāyezīd II on his abdication⁽²⁾ (Dīvān, p. 219),

(cont'd from p. 26): geçdünüz ha!" dir. Ca'fer Çelebinün meclisinde bu şüm fāl daḥi vāḳı' olur.

- Kudret Allāhuñ, fāl vāḳı'aya muṭābık ve bu ta'bīr vāḳı'aya muvāfık olur.
-

- (1) There is some conflict in the sources over the exact location of the place in which Bāyezīd II died: while İdrīs, Selīm-nāme 60a, gives it as Sögütlü Dere in the vicinity of Edirne, Kemālpāşa-zāde, Selīm-nāme (Topkapı Palace Library, Hazine no. 1424) 49b, gives it as Haskōy, also in the vicinity of Edirne. For a further discussion of this problem, see: Ş. Tekindag, 'Bāyezīdin ölümü meselesi', TD 24 (1970), pp. 1-16.

- (2) V/11. Bundan ğam ile gitdi vü anda ümīddür
Kudsīler ile ülfet idüb şādkām ola

12. Çün kılmadı vefā aña çarḥ-ı pür-cefā
'Arif olana va'z-u-naşīhat tamām ola

and bewails his own sad situation.⁽¹⁾ This mersiye is noteworthy for the complete absence of the customary prayer for the new sultān.

It is not possible to determine precisely how long Ca'fer remained without an official position, for none of the sources give the exact date on which he was re-appointed nişāncı. According to the in'āmāt defteri, 'İsā Çelebi held the position of nişāncı in 918,⁽²⁾ and a document dated Cem. II 919 (Aug. 1513) still refers to him as holding this office.⁽³⁾ The first reference to Ca'fer as nişāncı is at the beginning of Şevvāl 919 (Dec. 1513).⁽⁴⁾ Accordingly, it may be assumed that Ca'fer remained without an official position between 28 Cem. II 917 (21 Sep. 1511) and Şevvāl 919 (Dec. 1513). In a kaşide addressed to Sultān Selīm, which was probably written in this period, Ca'fer complains about his own situation and asks the

(1) I/11. Hakkā ki sāyesinde birer pādişāh idük
Mülk-i cihānda bilmemişüz ol hümā-yimiş

12. Meclisler içre derd ile şimden girü dirîğ
Ney gibi her nefes işümüz vāy vāy imiş

IV/8 Yiriydi cān içinde ideydük yirin velī
Bu miñnet ü belālar ile bizde cān kanı

(2) in'āmāt defteri, p. 502.

(3) İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, Çandarlı Vezir Ailesi, (Ankara 1975), p. 108.

(4) İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, Osmanlı Tarihi, II (Ankara 1949), p. 629.

Sultān to give him an official post. (1)

(1) Dīvān p. 207.

79. Ne sır durur ki hüner sikkesi-yle 'ālemde
'Azīz iken direm-āsā kapuñda olam h^vār
82. Elin şel eylemiş ālām yazmadın bir beyt
Ki saña lā'ik ola ey Şeh-i felek-mikdār
83. Ğarībler durur emmā cemī'-i ebyātum
N'ola Ğarīb-nevāz ola Şāh-i nīkū-kār
84. Egerçi kapladı dil gülşenini ser-tā-ser
Harīm-i sīnede hār-ı gumūn nā-hencār
85. Bahār-ı ma'deletüñde ümīd-vāram kim
Hezār gonça-ı şādī bitüre her bir hār
86. Ne ğam belālar ile kıldı ise kāmētümi
Hamīde çeng gibi rūzgār-ı bed-kirdār
87. Nevāziş eyler iseñ nağme-i dil-āvīzüm
Getüre şevk ile rakşa cihānda her ne ki var
88. Çü kīmyā nazaruñ hāki zer kılur benden
Dirīğ itme 'ināyet nazarların zinhār
90. Baña ne vakt-i ferāğat ne inzivā demidür
Tena' 'um eylemedin devletüñde bir mikdār
91. Cefālarına sipihr itmedin henüz 'ıvāz
Zemāne eylemedin itdüğine istiğfār

(cont'd)

A few months after Ca'fer Çelebi's re-appointment as nişāncı Selīm set off on the Çaldıran campaign, on 23 Muḥarrem 920 (20 Mar. 1514).⁽¹⁾ 'Aşık Çelebi states that Ca'fer Çelebi, together with the historian İdrīs and Ḥalīmī Çelebi, the lālā of the Sultān, accompanied Selīm and held conversations with him.⁽²⁾ While the army was at İzmit, Ca'fer composed a letter in Persian which was sent to Şāh İsmail on the 27th of Şafer 920 (23 Apr. 1514),⁽³⁾ and during the course of the campaign Ca'fer wrote a further two letters to the Şāh. The first of these letters, which were written in Turkish, was composed at Erzincan, in Cem. I 920 (Jun. 1514),⁽⁴⁾ and the second at Çermük in the following month.⁽⁵⁾

(cont'd from p. 29):

92. Cihān faẓa'ilümün virmedin daḥi ḳadrin

Biẓā'at-i hünerüm bulmadın daḥi bāzār

93. Ḳarīn-i ḥālüm olursa vüfūr-ı 'āṭıfetün

Ḳoyam zemānede devründe ben de çok āṣār

(1) J. R. Walsh, 'Çaldıran', EI.²

(2) Ḥattā sefer-i Erdebilde 'azīmet-i Şāh İsmā'ilde ekşer evḳāt Monla İdrīs ve Ḥalīmī Çelebi ve Ca'fer Çelebi merḥūm Pādişāh ile çār 'unşur gibi hem-'inān, harf-zenān ve bezl-güyān giderlermiş. 'Aşık Çelebi, 60b.

(3) İdrīs Bidlisī, Selīm-nāme, 71a; Celāl-zāde, Me'āşir, 127a-129a; Ḥüseyin, Bedā'i'ü 'l-veḳā'ı, II, p. 429.

(4) Celāl-zāde, Me'āşir, 132b-133b; Münşeāt mecmūası (D.T.C.F. İsmail Saib Yaz. I/4504), 36a.

(5) Ş. Tekindağ, 'Yavuzun İran Seferi', T.D. XVII, 22, p. 62; Tācu 't-Tevāriḥ II, p. 256.

On 2nd Receb 920 (23 August 1514) the Şāh was routed at Çaldıran and fled, abandoning his treasury and even his wife, Taclu Hanım. (1) Selīm presented Taclu Hanım to Ca'fer Çelebi, his nişāncı. (2)

-
- (1) Taclu Hanım's status is the subject of some discussion by the historians of this period. Hoca Sa'deddīn, Tācu 't-Tevāriḥ II, p. 373, and Müneccimbaşı II, p. 465, state that she was not the wife but merely a favourite concubine. For the discussion on this subject, see İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, 'Şah İsmailin Zevcesi Taclu Hanımın Mücevheratı', Belleten XXIII, 92 (Ankara 1959), pp. 611-9.
- (2) Similarly Taclu Hanım's status in respect of Ca'fer Çelebi is also the subject of some discussion. According to Tevāriḥ-i Āl-i 'Osmān, p. 237, Selīm presented Taclu Hanım to Ca'fer as his wife, having dismissed the Şāh as a heretic and consequently any marriage contracted by him was uncanonical and thus no impediment to a further marriage by Taclu Hanım. Çerkesler Kātibi, 19b, and Celāl-zāde, Me'āşir, 143b, mention that she was presented to Ca'fer, but failed to specify whether she was to become his wife or concubine. İbn-i Kemāl, however, states that Ca'fer was requested by the Sultān to accept Taclu Hanım as a wife (Selīm-nāmes, p. 112-3). The account given by Şa'ban Şifā'ī, Fezā'il-i Āl-i 'Osmān, 109a-b, is contradictory in that he states that the Sultān wished to send Taclu Hanım to Istanbul but Ca'fer married her without the consent of the Sultān, who when he heard of the marriage became extremely angry and maintained that she was already

On the return from the Çaldıran campaign, camp was set up at Çoban Köprü⁽¹⁾ and the march was halted for one day while appointments and dismissals were made in several of the offices of state. Zeyrek-zāde left the post of kaḡasker of Anadolu and Ca'fer Çelebi was appointed in his place.⁽²⁾

On 16th Şevvāl 920 (6 Dec. 1514), Selīm reached Amasya, where he intended to spend the winter before continuing the campaign the following year.⁽³⁾ Duḡakin-oğlu Ahmed Paşa was appointed to the grand vizierate replacing Hersekoğlu Ahmed Paşa, who had been dismissed while returning from Çaldıran. On 8th Muḡarrem 921 (23 Feb. 1515), the Janissaries, with the encouragement of some of the ministers of state, rioted in order to force the Sultān to abandon the campaign and to return to

(cont'd from p. 31):married and was therefore unable to enter into a further marriage. Ca'fer Çelebi countered this argument with several proofs of the invalidity of kızılbaş marriage services and was able to placate the Sultān's anger. The Cāmi'ü 't-Tevārīḡ, 260a, suggests that Selīm's anger was not placated and attributes Ca'fer's death to his marriage with Taclu Hanım.

(1) İbn-i Kemāl, 9th Defter, in Selīm-nāmes, p. 124.

(2) The date of this appointment is given in İbn-i Kemāl as "after 25th Receb" (Selīm-nāmes, p. 125). In Ferīdūn Beg Iⁱ p. 413, Bedāyi'ü 'l-Vekā'i', II, p. 444, and Me'āşir, 148a, the date is 25th Şa'ban.

(3) İbn-i Kemāl, 9th Defter, in Selīm-nāmes, p. 127.

Istanbul.⁽¹⁾ They attacked and burned the houses of Pīrī Paşa, Ḥalīmī Çelebi and Ca'fer Çelebi.⁽²⁾ The Sultān discovered that Duḡakin-oğlu Ahmed Paşa had been responsible for inciting the riot and had him killed ten days later.⁽³⁾

(1) İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, Osmanlı Tarihi, II, p. 257.

(2) Me'āşir, 150b. According to Hüseyn Hüsameddīn, Amasya Tarihi, III, pp. 275-6, the riots were caused by the appointment of Pīrī Çelebi to a vizierate which had traditionally been given to a person who had joined the ranks of the Ottoman forces from the devşirme. Janissaries petitioned their ağa İskender Ağa, who in turn requested Ca'fer Çelebi and Ḥalīmī Çelebi, the lālā of the Sultān, to try to influence the Sultān. Ca'fer Çelebi and Ḥalīmī Çelebi, however, were reluctant to petition the Sultān and asked the Janissaries to accept the Sultān's will without obligation. Having been incited to riot by Duḡakin-oğlu and his kethüda, the Janissaries disregarded this advice, and, rising in revolt on 8th Muḡarrem (23 Feb. 1515), they set to looting the houses of Pīrī Paşa, Ca'fer Çelebi and Ḥalīmī Çelebi.

(3) Celāl-zāde, Me'āşir, 150b, is certainly mistaken in recounting that Ca'fer was executed together with Duḡakin-oğlu. Ca'fer Çelebi was executed after his return to Istanbul. Ferīdūn Begⁱ, I, p. 412, adds that a further reason for Duḡakin-oğlu's execution was the rumour that he had come to some agreement with Dulḡadr-oğlu 'Alāü 'd-devle.

After spending the winter at Amasya and annexing the beylik of Dulkadr, the cities of Kemah and Diyarbakır and some citadels in the east, Sultān Selīm returned to Istanbul on 29th Cem. I, 921 (11 May 1515). He soon set about discovering which of his ministers had incited the Janissaries at Amasya.⁽¹⁾ Summoning the Janissary aga and some senior members of the corps to denounce the leaders of the revolt, he learned that the persons responsible were the second vizier İskender Ağa, the kaşasker Ca'fer Çelebi and Balyemez 'Osmān Ağa, the sekbanbaşı.⁽²⁾ İskender Ağa and 'Osmān Ağa were executed forthwith, and Ca'fer

(1) Tācu 't-Tevārīḥ, II, p. 298; Vekāyi'-i Sultān Bāyezīd ve Selīm Ḥan, 44b.

(2) Tācu 't-Tevārīḥ, II, p. 298; Vekāyi'-i Sultān Bāyezīd ve Selīm Ḥan, 44b. Şükrü, Selīm-nāme, 121a, relates the denouncing of the instigators of the uprising thus:

Bu fesādı ey erenler serveri

İtdi birkaç bî-ḥıred yeñiçeri

Lîk bâ'is bunda üç bî-behredür

İşbu taḥrîk ile anlar şöhredür

Biri İskender Paşa durur benām

Ol biri sekmenbaş ey Nîk-nām

Biri daḥi kâzı'askerdür ki şāh

Şanur anı her cihetden nîk-ḥ^vāh

Çelebi was summoned to the Sultān's prescence.⁽¹⁾ According to Hoca Sa'deddīn, Selīm asked Ca'fer Çelebi to suggest what suitable punishment might be meted out to a person who encouraged the troops of Islam to revolt and, upon receiving the reply that such a person, if proved guilty, should be executed, he ordered Ca'fer's execution.⁽²⁾ According to Şükrü, the question was framed differently and, on being asked to suggest a punishment for a person who intended to kill a müslim, Ca'fer replied similarly that if his guilt was proved, the penalty should be death. Şükrü frames the Sultān's reply in the following beyts:⁽³⁾

Men ki Şāham 'ilmüm irmişdür tamām

Sen de inkār idemezsin uş kelām

Sen fulān menzilde bir gün āşikār

Dimedüñ mi ki Ferīd-i rūzgār

- (1) Şükrü, Selīm-nāme, 122a. 'Alī (Kūnhü 'l-Aḥbār, 205a), however, states that the Sultān sent a man to Ca'fer Çelebi to ask some questions.
- (2) Tācu 't-Tevārīḥ, II, 1. 298. According to Çerkesler Kātibi, 29b, after Ca'fer's execution Selīm regretted having killed Duḡakin-oğlu, considering him to be innocent:

Bir teessüf çekdi anda pādişāh

Kim Duḡakin-oğlu gitdi bī-günah

Ferīdün Begⁱ I, p. 415, gives a detailed account of the trail and execution.

- (3) Şükrü, Selīm-nāme, 122a.

Pîrî Paşanuñ helâkidür şavab
 Şimdi inkâr eyler iseñ vir cevâb
 Kâtline sa'y itdüñ anuñ bî-gümân
 Cürmsüz çekdüñ aña tîğ-i zebân

It can be understood from the following beyts that Şükrü considered some rivalry to have existed between Pîrî Paşa and Ca'fer Çelebi, and that Pîrî had denounced Ca'fer as a rabble-rouser and advised the Sultân to execute him: (1)

Pîrî Paşa hod baña bir gün nihân
 Didi ki ey Hüsrev-i mülk-i cihân
 Ka'zî 'asker fitnedür ref' eylegil
 Yir yüzinden fitneyi def' eylegil

'Âlî indicates another reason for Ca'fer's execution. 'Âlî was informed by Celâl-zâde that during the period in which Selîm was struggling to obtain the throne he met the army of his father, Bâyezîd II, at Karişdıran Ovası and withdrew his troops without a fight, retiring towards Kefe. On the occasion of this military withdrawal, Selîm became the victim of a satirical work which was unfortunately attributed to Ca'fer, and became the cause for his execution. (2) There is support for this account in the İn'âmât Defteri. It is recorded that in Cem. I 917 a poet by

(1) Şükrü, Selîm-nâme, 122a.

(2) Kühü 'l-Ahbâr, 205a.

the name of عباسی presented a ta'riḥ about the defeat of Selīm Beg to Bāyezīd and was remunerated.⁽¹⁾ This ta'riḥ could be attributed to Ca'fer. Furthermore, Celāl-zāde gives an account in his Me'āsir (103a) which is connected with the above story. After Selīm's withdrawal Ca'fer was reported to have said

واہ کندی ہو جهاندن جعفر
"the dog has gone into the desert", and his words became famous at that time. Celāl-zāde considers that this remark was instrumental in bringing about Ca'fer's execution.

The tezkires give the following line as a chronogram for Ca'fer's execution:⁽²⁾

واہ کندی ہو جهاندن جعفر

However, this chronogram produces the year 920, which is clearly wrong, as the historical sources are agreed upon the 8th Receb 921 (18 Aug. 1515) as the date of his execution.⁽³⁾

(1) İn'āmāt Defteri, p. 454. Appendix A.21.

عباسی شاعری کہ تاریخ انہزام سلیم بک آورد

This ta'riḥ may be a chronogram, or it may, in fact, refer to a work of history.

(2) Kafzāde Fā'izī, 21a; Riyāzī, 45b. S. N. Ergun prefers to rely on the chronogram and considers the historical sources to be at fault (TŞ, II, p. 833). OM, I, p. 263, and HOP, II, p. 269, also give the date as 920. As Sultān Selīm returned to Istanbul after the Çaldıran campaign on 29 Cem. I 921, it is certain that the historical sources are correct.

(3) Tevārīḥ (ed. Giese), I, p. 134; Bedā'i'ü 'l-Vekā'i', II, 448b; SO, II, p. 63; Amasya Tarihi, III, p. 277.

According to 'Aşık Çelebi and 'Alī, Ca'fer had tried in vain to persuade the Sultān of his innocence and, quoting historical precedents, he had recounted that Hārūn Reşīd had suffered pangs of guilt after the execution of his vizier Ca'fer Bermekī, whom he felt he had executed unjustly. (1)

After Ca'fer's execution his corpse was taken to Balat to the mosque (2) which had been named after him, and buried there by his brother Sa'dī Çelebi. (3)

In the tezkires it is recounted that Ca'fer had a premonition of his own death. Two or three days before Ca'fer's execution, Mevlānā Necmī went to Ca'fer's house to pay a visit, during the course of which Ca'fer told him that he had just written a gazel, of which he particularly liked this couplet: (4)

Ben şehīd-i tīg-i 'ışk olduğda rāh-ı yārda
Yumadın defn eyleñüz tenden ğubārı gitmesün (5)

(1) 'Aşık Çelebi, 60b-61a; Künhü 'l-Aḥbār, 205a.

(2) For his mosque in Balat, see Ḥadikātü 'l-Cevāmi', I, p. 39. For its vakfiye, see İstanbul Tahrir Defteri, p. 298.

(3) Sehī, p. 28; 'Aşık Çelebi, 61a; Kınalı-zāde, 71a. 'Aşık Çelebi, 156b, recounts that Sa'dī Çelebi was so struck by grief at the death of his brother that he could not stop himself from cursing the one responsible, and for a long time afterwards lived in continual fear that he had been overheard, and his words reported to the palace.

(4) 'Aşık Çelebi, 61a; Kınalı-zāde, 71a, Riyāzī, 46a.

(5) Dīvān, p. 416.

'Aşık Çelebi sees in this couplet an allusion to Ca'fer's execution.

Sultān Selīm showed remorse for Ca'fer's execution and castigated his courtiers for not having advised imprisonment rather than death. (1) Following Ca'fer's death, a fire broke out among the houses and shops which belonged to the yakf of Atik 'Alī Paşa in Dikilitaş. Sultān Selīm visited the scene in order to supervise the extinguishing of the fire, and is reported to have said "this fire is a spark from the fire of poor innocent Ca'fer's sigh". (2) Another anecdote supports the idea that Selīm showed regret, as he is reported to have said "there were only two great men in Rūm: one of them was Mü'eyyed-zāde, the other Tācī-zāde Ca'fer. What a pity that the first reached old age before I ascended the throne and the other I killed without realizing his true worth". (3)

Following Ca'fer's death his wife Taclu Hanım was received into Selīm's presence on 15th Receb and given an imperial bequest. (4) According to the Cāmi'ü 't-Tevārīh, she benefited from the revenue of lands at Tırhala, which were given to her for the remainder of her life. She died in 984 (1576-7). (5)

(1) Künhü 'l-Aḥbār, 205b. 'Alī's statement that Selīm had executed Duḳakin-oğlu for not having prevented his ordering Ca'fer's execution is certainly mistaken, for Duḳakin-oğlu had been killed in Amasya before this date.

(2) 'Aşık Çelebi, 61a; Kınalı-zāde, 70b; Riyāzī, 45b-46a.

(3) 'Aşık Çelebi, 61a; Kınalı-zāde, 70b; Riyāzī, 45b-46a.

(4) Ferīdūn Begⁱ I, p. 418.

(5) Cāmi'ü 't-Tevārīh (Sül. Lib. Fatih, 4306), 260b.

It is reported in the tezkires that Ca'fer was survived by a son who wrote poetry under the maḥlaṣ of Ca'ferī. (1) Ca'ferī spent a convivial life and died from an overdose of opium. (2) We can find some of his poems in certain mecmū'as. (3) In a vakf document dating from the beginning of Zi 'l-Ḳa'de 918 (Jan. 1513) it is mentioned that Ca'fer Çelebi had other children, but no mention is made of their names. (4)

Apart from his mosque in Istanbul, Ca'fer was responsible for building a mosque and a hamam in Simav, a kervansaray in Bergama (5) and a primary school in Edirne. (6)

Ca'fer Çelebi's brother Sa'dī Çelebi was also famous as a münşī and poet. Sa'dī Çelebi's background is more or less the same as that of his brother. He was born in Amasya, (7) on

- (1) 'Aşık Çelebi, 62b-63a; Kınalı-zāde, 72a. According to Hüseyn Hüsameddīn his name was İbrahim Bālī Çelebi. (Nişāncılar, p. 72).
- (2) 'Aşık Çelebi, 62b; Kınalı-zāde, 72a.
- (3) Egridirli Hacı Kemal, Mecmu'atü 'n-Nezā'ir, p. 869-70; Pervāne Bey Mecmu'ası, 625a, 364a; Mecmu'atü 'n-Nezā'ir (Hasan Hüsnü Paşa, no. 1031), 301b; Mecmu'atü 'n-Nezā'ir (Ün. Ktp. T.Y. 752), 80a.
- (4) Tapu Defteri, no. 251, p. 531-2 (Appendix A.2); İstanbul Tahrir Defteri, p. 298.
- (5) İstanbul Tahrir Defteri, p. 298.
- (6) Tapu Defteri, no. 1070, p. 150-1. (Appendix A.22)
- (7) 'Alī (Künhü 'l-Aḥbār), 204b.

what date we do not know. After studying under the famous scholars of his time, such as Mevlānā Kāsım, known as Kādī-zāde, and Hacı Hasan-zāde, most likely in Bursa, he was appointed müderris to the medrese of Ġazi Murād in Bursa.⁽¹⁾ According to certain records in his Mecmū'a, he was in Bursa between the years 897 (1491-2) and 906 (1500-1).⁽²⁾ On pages 147b to 150a of this mecmū'a there are some Arabic poems written in 905 (1499-1500) while he was still there.

Sometime between 906 (1500-1) and 909 (1503-4), Sa'dī Çelebi must have come to Istanbul, since in a record in the İn'āmāt Defteri it is mentioned that Sa'dī Çelebi, müderris in the medrese of 'Ali Paşa, in Cem. I 909 (Oct. 1503) presented a kaşide to the Sultān.⁽³⁾ According to the ŞN, he was later appointed to the Semāniye,⁽⁴⁾ at that time the highest institution of learning. Again in the İn'āmāt Defteri, it is recorded that one of the müderris of the Semāniye, Mevlānā Sa'dī, the brother of the Nişāncı, presented another kaşide in Zi 'l-Hicce 915 (Mar. 1510).⁽⁵⁾

(1) ŞN, I, p. 490; Mecdī, p. 337.

(2) Sa'dī Çelebi Mecmū'ası: for Sa'dī Çelebi's letters sent from Bursa to his brother Ca'fer, see: 106b-107b; 107b-103a; 70b-71a; 102a-102b; 62b-64a; 93b-94a.

(3) p. 17. (Appendix A.23) For a letter written while in Istanbul, in 909, to Ca'fer see: Sa'dī Çelebi Mecmū'ası, 105b-106a.

(4) ŞN, I, p. 490; Mecdī, p. 337.

(5) p. 375. (Appendix A.24)

Sa'dī Çelebi probably spent the remainder of his life teaching in Istanbul. As already mentioned, when Ca'fer Çelebi was executed in 921 (1515) Sa'dī removed his brother's body and buried it. 'Aşık Çelebi says that shortly after Ca'fer Çelebi's death someone was required to write a letter in Arabic to the Sultān of Egypt, Kānsu Gavri, and Sa'dī Çelebi was summoned to the palace for this purpose. Selīm I was very pleased with the letter he composed and rewarded Sa'dī Çelebi with a promotion of 30 akçes and a gift of 30,000 akçes.⁽¹⁾

In ŞN, it is recorded that before he died Sa'dī Çelebi made the Pilgrimage and, on his return, was retired with a pension of 80 akçes. The date of his death is 922 (1516). His tomb is in the garden of the primary school built by him in Balat.⁽²⁾ 'Aşık Çelebi, however, says that Sa'dī died during the Egyptian campaign.⁽³⁾

Apart from his teaching, Sa'dī Çelebi also wrote a number of commentaries in Arabic on text-books used in the medreses,⁽⁴⁾ and according to Hüseyin Hüsameddīn, he is also the author of a work entitled Hayru 'l-Ahlām, in which is described the charms of the city of Amasya.⁽⁵⁾ His Arabic dīvān in his Mecmū'a is

(1) 'Aşık Çelebi, 156a-b.

(2) ŞN, I, p. 490; Mecdī, p. 337. For the vakfiye of his school, see: İstanbul Tahrir Defteri, p. 298, and Tapu Defteri, no. 251, p. 532. (Appendix A.2)

(3) 'Aşık Çelebi, 157a.

(4) For his works, see: ŞN, I, p. 491; Mecdī, p. 338; OM, I, p. 263.

(5) Amasya Tarihi, I, p. 13.

incomplete,⁽¹⁾ and some of his Turkish beyts are to be found in the tezkires.⁽²⁾ His Arabic poetry is praised by the tezkiire-writers who claim that his abilities in this language are superior to his borther's,⁽³⁾ while Kınalı-zāde Hasan Çelebi maintains that his inşā, too, is preferable.⁽⁴⁾

- (1) Sa'dī Çelebi Mecnū'ası, 24a-26a; 29a-34a; 56a-57a; 103a; 110a; 147b-150a.
- (2) 'Aşık Çelebi, 157a; Kafzāde Fa'izī, 35a; Mecdī 337.
- (3) 'Aşık Çelebi, 156a; Kınalı-zāde, 135a.
- (4) 135a.

C. THE WORKS OF CA'FER ÇELEBI

Apart from his Dīvān, which is discussed in detail below, Ca'fer Çelebi is credited with the following five works:

1. Heves-nāme⁽¹⁾

This is considered both by modern scholars and by near-contemporaries to be Ca'fer's best work. Almost all the tezkires dwell on its importance,⁽²⁾ Laṭīfī considering it to be as original as it was innovative.⁽³⁾

"Ve Heves-nāme nām bir destān-ı dil-sitānı vardur. Kendi karihasından şadır olmuş hāşşa icādı ve hevā-yı cevānīde hasb-ı hālinden ihtirā' ve irādıdur. Bir kitāb-ı belāgat-nisāb ve bir nazm-ı sihr-intisābdur ki min maṭla' ilā 'l-maḳṭa' elfāz-ı 'acībe ve ma'ānī-yi ġarībe ile ebyāt-ı pūr-nükāt ve şanāyi'-i bedāyi' ve 'ibārāt ve isti'ārātıdur. Ta'rīf-i āhire muhtāc degül."

While one may have reservations about such extravagant praise of its literary value, its originality in this genre cannot be denied. M. F. Köprülü and R. Anhegger have stressed the fact that Ca'fer was consciously creating a work different from the

(1) In this study the Ms. Bibliothèque Nationale A. F. 300 was used.

(2) Sehī, p. 28; Laṭīfī, p. 117-8; 'Aşık Çelebi, 61b-62a; Kınalı-zāde, 71b.

(3) Laṭīfī, p. 117-8.

meşnevîs of other poets, in subject and in treatment.⁽¹⁾ Up to the time of Ca'fer almost all meşnevî writers, with the exception of Halîlî, had looked to Persian or Arabic literature for their themes, or had simply translated an existing work into Turkish. Although the Fırkat-nâme of Halîlî, written in the reign of Mehmed II, shares certain features with Ca'fer's Heves-nâme, in that it relates an adventure of love personally experienced by the poet, in character it is wholly different, in that the object of Halîlî's passion is not a woman and that the intent of the work is predominantly mystical.⁽²⁾

The Heves-nâme, which is in the usual meşnevî form, in a hezec metre,⁽³⁾ falls into three distinct parts, the first two of which are by way of introduction to the theme. The first of these, following the almost obligatory tevḥîd, na't and münâcât, consists of verses in description of the buildings in certain districts of Istanbul. In the second part Ca'fer

(1) M. F. Köprülü, Eski Şairlerimiz, Divan Edebiyatı Antolojisi, (Istanbul 1949), p. 74 and Edebiyat Araştırmaları, (Ankara 1966), p. 290-1; R. Anhegger, 'Selatin-name müellifi Kemal', TDED, IV, 4, p. 456-6.

(2) For Halîlî, see F. A. Tansel, Halîlî, İA, V, p. 162; for a summary of the Fırkat-nâme, see HOP, III, pp. 330-2.

(3) 'Aşık Çelebi, 61b, gives the metre as remel, and Kâtib Çelebi, KZ, II, p. 732, repeats this error. It is likely that 'Aşık Çelebi read some of the gazels in the work, which are indeed in remel, and attributed this metre to the whole work.

explains his reasons for writing the work, stressing its originality; after which he goes on to discuss the various concepts of love and gives his opinions about certain prominent poets. The third and substantial part of the poem is a narrative description of a love affair which the poet personally experienced.

It would appear that it is chiefly the first two parts of the work, in which can be found information on the daily life of Istanbul and its institutions and a discussion on the merits of his own work and those of other poets, that have earned for this poem a place in the history of Dīvān literature. In particular, his critique of Ahmed Paşa and Şeyhī have found mention in the tezkires of Laṭīfī and 'Aşık Çelebi, and in almost all previous researches on Ca'fer.⁽¹⁾ The first section seems to have no other relevance to the subject other than to locate the poet in Istanbul and provide a setting for the story which is to follow:

Bunun gibi mu'azzam bir şehir içinde

Ki hemtâsı bulunmaz dehr içinde

İkâmet eylemişdüm ben kemîne

Düşüb kesb-i feżâ'il 'âlemine

16a

-
- (1) Laṭīfī, pp. 77, 118; 'Aşık Çelebi, 61b; S. N. Ergun, Türk Şairleri, II, p. 385; R. Anhegger, op.cit.; M. F. Köprülü, Edebiyat Araştırmaları, (Ankara 1966), p. 291; Faruk K. Timurtaş, Şeyhī Hayatı ve Eserleri (Istanbul 1968), pp.36-7, 123, 129; N. S. Banarlı, Resimli Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi (Istanbul 1971), p. 477; HOP, II, p. 235.

The analysis of the poem is as follows: after the tevhîd and na't, which are in general unremarkable, we find in the münâcât a naive admission that thoughts of women intrude into his mind even when at prayer:

Hayâlümde şarâb u şem' ü şâhid

Derûnumda hevâ-yı sâk u sâ'id

Kaçan tekbîr idûb tursam namâza

Göñül başlar nigârına niyâza

Ne aşşı kılmadan mihrâba ben rû

Çü göñlümde mukîm tāk-ı ebrû

N'olur ben tutduğumdan kıbleye yüz

Açar cân âsitân-ı yâra çün göz

3b

After the münâcât there follows the customary prayer for the sultân, Bâyezîd II, followed in turn by the description of certain buildings in Istanbul, which is one of the parts of the work which has hitherto received the attention of scholars.⁽¹⁾

-
- (1) M. F. Köprülü, Eski Şairlerimiz, Divan Edebiyatı Antolojisi (Istanbul 1949), p. 74. Most subsequent references to it seem to be based on Köprülü's observations: S. N. Ergun, TŞ, II, p. 886; T. Gökbilgin, İA, III, p. 10; N. S. Banarlı, Resimli Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi (Istanbul 1971), p. 477. F. Timurtaş is in error in saying that it contains an account of the reign of Fâtih, 'Türkiye Edebiyatı', Türk Dünyası El Kitabı, (Ankara 1976), p. 427.

In fact, however, the information contained herein contributes very little to our knowledge of Istanbul in the late 15th and early 16th centuries, the descriptions of the buildings being fanciful rather than factual. Thus he mentions the tower of Galata (5b-6a), the Saray-ı Hümayun (6b-7b), the royal hamam (7b-8a), Ayaşofya ((9a-9b), the mosque of Sultān Mehmed (9b-11b), the Semāniye⁽¹⁾ (12a-b), the 'imāret, or public kitchen (12b-13a) and the Dārü 'ş-Şifā (13a-b).⁽²⁾ After the Dārü 'ş-Şifā there is a comparatively long account of the establishment of the mosque and tomb of Ebū Eyyüb Anşarī, in which is given the familiar account of how Ak Şemseddīn, the mentor of the Sultān, located the site about half a fersah outside the city. Curiously, he omits this detail in his Feth-nāme.

The second part, which can be considered to be the real beginning of the Heves-nāme, starts with a hasb-i hāl (16a-17a), in which Ca'fer gives some facts about his own life. He tells us that he spent his time, when not pursuing his studies, in the enjoyable company of friends:

Geçüb eyyām-ı taḥşīl olsa ta'tīl
İderdüm 'işret esbābını taḥşīl

-
- (1) He mentions the following scholars as teaching there at that time: Ḥaṭīb-oğlu, 'Arab, Kaşṭalānī and Ḥācī Ḥasan-zāde.
- (2) A similar description of many of these buildings is to be found in Ḥadīdī's Tevarīḫ-i Āl-i 'Osmān (British Museum, Or. 12396), ff. 133b-135a.

Dirüb bir nice ehl-i dil ḥarīfi
 Hünermend ü sebük-rūḥ u zarīfi
 İderdüm anlaruñla 'ayş-u-nūşı
 Çıkarub göklere cüş-u-ḥurüşı
 Olub birden ikiden sāde-rūlar
 Tolub sāğar boşalurdı sebūlar

16b

In the course of these meetings he would engage his friends in literary discourses in which it was his custom to contribute extempore gazels as well as kaşīdes in praise of the Sultān:

Gehī müşkil mesā'il fikr iderdük
 Gehī dürlü muẓāḥik zikr iderdük
 Gehī nazm-ı Derī vü gāḥ Tāzī
 Gehī şatranc u nerd ü lehv ü bâzī
 Düşerdi şohbet eḡnāsında ekşer
 Bedīhī eydür idüm ter ḡazeller
 Dir idüm düşdügince gāḥ gāhī
 Kaşā'id medḥ iderdüm pādişāhı

23b

16b

At one of these parties, someone praised Ca'fer's poetical talent and exhorted him to write a meḡnevī which would treat of love in an original manner:

Bu eḡnāda baña bir yār-ı cānī
 Didi ey baḥr-ı 'ummān-ı ma'ānī
 Budur zannum eyā her fende māhir
 Ki sensin meḡnevīye daḥi kādīr

Eger sen meşnevîye el urasın
 Bu ma'nâ üstine sâbit tûrasın
 Ola 'âlemde senden yâdigâr ol
 Bula halk içre kadr-ü-i'tibâr ol
 Köhendür kışsa-ı Şîrîn ü Hüsrev
 Revâdur söyleseñ bir kışsa-ı nev

18b

Other companions joined in this proposal, but Ca'fer protested his reluctance to embark on such a task:

Bilürsiz merdüm-i şāhib-faẓīlet
 İder 'ār itmege eş'āra rağbet
 Ki faẓl ehline şā'irlik yaraşmaz
 Yed-i Mūsāya sāhirlik yaraşmaz
 Kılurken hāmemüz hall-i deķā'ik
 Olurken rüşen anuñla haķā'ik
 Revā mıdur ki yaza türrehātı
 Ki olmaya haķikatde sebātı
 İderken rûz-u-seb kesb-i faẓā'il
 Koyub anı dürüşmek şî're müşkil

19a

This is the conventional attitude towards poetry among the 'ulemā, which nevertheless, did not prevent them from practicing it and seeking a reputation thereby. The production of a meşnevî, however, was a time-consuming task, requiring a sustained effort that few were willing to make; and, moreover, the occasion for the reading or recitation of such extensive

works was private, and in this respect different from the meclis-i yāran which was the usual venue of the gazel or the kaşide, and the place in which a reputation as a poet could be most readily gained.

Following the Hasb-i Hāl comes the much-quoted passage in which Ca'fer criticizes Şeyhî and Ahmed Paşa, who were still considered the two pre-eminent Ottoman poets:

Şular kim Türkî dilde şöhreti var

Biri Şeyhî biri Ahmeddür ey yār

19b

In fact, Şeyhî is to be regarded as the most prominent of the early poets to emerge from Anatolia, and one of the founders of the school of classical Dīvān poetry,⁽¹⁾ while it was Ahmed Paşa who established this poetry on a firm footing.⁽²⁾ Ca'fer's failure to mention Necātî, the most lyrical of the poets of the period of Mehmed II, may be due to the fact that he was not of the 'ulemā class and did not hold an important post in the capital.

Ca'fer has little praise for either of these distinguished predecessors: Şeyhî he accuses of paying scant attention to the rules of eloquence (feşāhat) and for employing archaic words:

Eger Şeyhîdür inşāf ile bi 'llah

Suhanverlikden olmuş gerçi āgeh

(1) Faruk K. Timurtaş, Şeyhî Hayatı ve Eserleri (Istanbul 1968), pp. 138-9.

(2) M. F. Köprülü, Ahmed Paşa, İA, I



Sözüñ uslûb-ı nağzın añlamış ol
Kelāmuñ tavr-u tarzın añlamış ol

Fesāhatde velīkin kārı yokdur
Kelāmınuñ ġarīb elfāzı çokdur

19b

Ahmed Paşa he holds to be incompetent in rhetoric (belāğat) and criticizes him for his inability to link ideas:

Ve ger Ahmed durur gerçi selāset
Bulınur sözlerinde hem fesāhat

Belāğatda velī māhir degüldür
Kelāmuñ rabtına kādır degüldür

Sözinüñ hüsni vardur ānı yokdur
Nuķuş-ı deyre beñzer cānı yokdur

19b

Furthermore, he considers both to have failed to contribute any original imagery or ideas to their poems and dismisses their works as mere translation and imitation: (1)

Bu hāl ile yine ey merd-i üstād
Birinüñ dağı yok şānında icād

Mu'ayyen her birinüñ hāli kālī
Olubdur tercüme ulu kemāli

(1) Laṭīfī concurs with Ca'fer's view that Ahmed Paşa had translated Persian poems and that Şeyhī was guilty of using archaic words. Tezkire-i Laṭīfī, pp. 71, 215.

Ararsaŋ her birinüŋ defterini

Tetebbu' eyler iseŋ sözlerini

Bulımazsın birinde ma'nī-yi hāş

Bulursın ğayruŋ āhengine rakḳāş

Ḥayāl-i hāşa çün ḳādir degüller

Ḥaḳiḳatde bular şā'ir degüller

19b

Although this section in which Ca'fer Çelebi criticizes Şeyhī and Ahmed Paşa is the best-known section of the Heves-nāme, its fame rests not on its correct appraisal of these two poets but rather on the fact that it pleads for a more original treatment of subject matter and a less slavish subservience to Arabic and Persian models.⁽¹⁾ Ca'fer elucidates his ideas on originality in a section entitled Pend daden-i dil, in which he examines the options open to him in his choice of subject and style for the meşnevī he agreed to compose. Despite the fact that there is given here a more lucid account of Ca'fer's literary ideas, subsequent authors have tended to neglect it:

Didi dil şol hikāyetler kim anı

Lisān-ı āharuŋ bir nüktedānı

-
- (1) M. F. Köprülü claims that Ca'fer Çelebi was responsible for influencing his protege Vahdī to adopt local characters and themes as subjects for literature (Edebiyat Araştırmaları, Ankara 1966, p. 379).

Edā itmiş ola tatlu dil ile
 Emek çekmiş ola ay u yıl ile
 İdüb dürlü güherler nazmına derc
 'Ömürler eylemiş ola aña harc
 Olub muhtārı bir uslūb-ı zībā
 Aña virmiş ola hoş tarz-i garrā
 İdinüb muhtedā sen daḥi anı
 Elūñe alasın bir dāsitanı
 Ne şüretlerle ol itdi-yse tahrīr
 Kılasın tercüme Türkiye bir bir
 Bu ehl-i faẓl olana sehldür sehl
 Benüm katumda belki cehldür cehl
 Gerek sen idesin bir kışsa perdāz
 K'işitmiş olmaya bir kışsa-perdāz
 Senūñ ihdāsuñ ola tavr-u-tarzı
 Saña maḥşūş ola uslūb-ı nağzı
 Senūñ ola ne kim var zışt eger ḥūb
 Birisi olmaya gayriye mensūb
 Hüner var ise olur bunda zāhir
 Bunı iden kişidür nazma kādır

20a-b

Having explained at some length his ideas on literature, Ca'fer Çelebi returns to the discourse with his friends and states that being unable to resist their persuasion, he finally accepted their suggestions and embarked upon the task of writing the meşnevī:

Ziyāde söyleyüb itdiler ikdām
İgen çoğ itdiler ilhāh-u-ibrām

Ki kıldum sözlerine imtişāli
Kabul itdüm ki buldukça mecāli

Dürişem nazm idem bir dāsitanı
K'ola her 'āşıkun vird-i zebānı

20a

Ca'fer approached his task by looking for a theme which had hitherto not been exploited:

Heves kıldum diyem bir hoş hikāyet
Ki kimse kılmamış ola rivāyet

20b

and began by reading histories and legends:

Tetebbu' itdüm aḥbārı serāser
Tevārīhi vü eşmārı serāser

20b

Unable to find inspiration from these works, he decided to narrate a personal experience of love to which he gave the title Heves-nāme:

Heves birle urub bünyādın anuñ
Heves-nāme kodum hem adın anuñ

21a

According to 'Alī, this love affair was based on an actual event. Ca'fer, it would seem had seduced the wife of a member of the 'ulemā, and by making various promises and employing a go-between, he managed to achieve his desire and subsequently

related the whole affair in the Heves-nāme.⁽¹⁾

Almost as if to emphasise the originality of his work, he deviates from common practice and dedicates it neither to the sultān nor to one of the vezīrs, but rather to all pretty girls:

Ne şāh u ne vezīr adına yazdum

Perī ruḥsārlar yādına yazdum

21a

Ca'fer's departure from accepted practice might suggest that his work was not intended for general circulation but was to be confined to the eyes of his close friends. This suggestion is further supported by the fact that the meşnevī was not revised until a considerable amount of time had elapsed after its completion. There were apparently some other unspecified

-
- (1) "[Ca'fer Çelebi] ḥaddi zātında gāyetle zen-perest olub; zinādan ibā itmez ve bir mekkār-ı bī-hemtā gördükde sevād-ı vişāli sevdāsından gitmez maḡlūb-ı nefis ve ḥilḳat-i zemīme ile ma'yūb bir 'azīz olmağın, ekābir-i 'ulemānuñ birinūñ ḥarem-i muḥteremine ḳaşd-ı nā-sezā ḳıldı ... Bezl-i māl ile ba'zı dilāver ve metā'-ı vaşl-ı dil-ārāma hem-sār-ı muḥtāle gönderüb, ne eyledi ise eyledi, ol nigār-ı 'iffet-veşārı kendüye döndürdi. Eyyām-ı firāḳ-u-melāl hengām-ı mülākāt-u-viṣāl 'ālemine ittiṣāl bulunca, Heves-nāme meşnevīsini nazm eyledi." Kūnhü 'l-Aḥbār, 204b. "... Heves-nāmeyi, te'līfine 'illet olan ḥafīfenūñ 'ālem-i vişāli şu 'ūbetiyle bedīdār olduğı eyyāmda dimişler." Kūnhü 'l-Aḥbār, 206a.

obstacles which barred its revision:

Çü tesvîd oldu bu ferhunde defter
Mevâni' düşdi kaldı şöyle ebter

Beyâza çıkmadı bir kaç zamân ol
Kümünde kaldı olmadı 'ayân ol

21a

Velî cem' olduğınca karşı yârân
Kemâl ehli hüner-perver suhandân

Açıldukça suhan süst-ü-kavîden
Kaşâ'idden gazelden meşnevîden

Söz olub düşdügince nefy-ü-işbât
Okurdum ben de bundan birkaç ebyât

21b

However, he later succumbed to the suggestions of his friends and produced a revised copy of his work in a brief period of time:

İşidenler iderlerdi pesendî
Kılurlardı hezârân rîş-handî

Revâ görmezdi kimse kim bu maḥbûb
Kala ednâ hicâb altında maḥcûb

21b

Getürdüm az zamân içre beyâza
Ki döndi tâze-vü-ḥurrem riyâza

21b

In the last beyt of the Heves-nâme, Ca'fer indicates that he finished the work in 899:

Beyān eyler çü tarīḥ-i kitābı

Maḥabbet-nāme-i Ca'fer ḥesābı

= 399 (محبت نامه جعفر)⁽¹⁾

The work was done in his spare time and reached completion in less than two months.

Ki kāfidür bir ednā iltifātun

Gerekmez üstine dün gün sebātun

19a

Buḥa maşrūf olan vaktüm serāpāy

Eger cem' olsa olmazdı iki ay

21a

Ca'fer Çelebi discloses his ideas on love in a passage entitled ser-i suhan, which serves as an introduction to the narrative and an apology for the events which it relates.

Mecāzī 'ışkı da görme igen ḥ^vār

Ki vardur anda daḥi ḥayli āşār

Keser ma'sūk gayrından seni ol

Ḳomaz cān gülşenine kimseye yol

Ferāmūş itdürür zühd-ü-riyāy

Ḳazur dilden nukūş-ı mā-sivāy

Anı dānā olan tutmaz faẓīḥat

Ki olmışdur pül-i rāh-ı ḥaḳīkat

Çün oldu rāh-ı Ḥaḳḳa ḳanṭara ol

Aña teşnī'-ü-ta'n itmek degül yol

22b-23a

(1) Contrary to the usual practice, the hemze is not to be included in the calculation. 399 is given in all the sources as the date of the completion of the work.

While in the above passage he defends the idea that mecāzī love is a means to ilahī love, throughout the Heves-nāme he seems content to pursue the means with scant attention to the end, and the passion he describes is explicitly carnal. He feels that those who suffer because of love are fools; no man of good sense would choose such a course:

Dir idüm ol durur 'ālemde 'ākıl
Ki hergiz virmeye dilberlere dil

Murādını görüb ide ferāğat
Göñül bağlayub olmaya melāmet

29a

'Aşık Çelebi tells us that Sultān Selīm accused Ca'fer of not being able to understand the true meaning of love, and criticized him for not treating the subject with due respect: (1)

Hattā Sultān Selīm merhūmla eşnā-yı muşāhebette "ben 'ışka münkirem, 'ışk didükleri mücerred fesāne ve ehl-i 'aql 'ışk da 'vāsın eylemek cāhilānedür" dirmiş. Pādişāh-ı merhūm "and içmeñ ki 'ışka inkāruñuz ve 'ışk ne idüğün bilmedüğünüz eş'āruñuzdan ma'lūmdur. Anuñ-çün ki eş'āruñuzda çāşni-yi 'ışk ma'dūmdur".

The third part of the Heves-nāme, in which the narrative proper is related, begins with Āğāz-ı dāsītān. In this and the following sections we have the description of Kāğıdhāne in the spring, when Ca'fer and some friends went there for a

(1) 'Aşık Çelebi, Tezkire, 61b.

holiday. It was here that the love affair began. In the remaining part of the work he relates his first sight of his beloved, his falling in love, his finding a go-between, the suffering he endures, his several meetings with his beloved, his parting and the exchange of letters between the lovers. This section is in mesnevī form but is interspersed with gazels which have the effect of breaking the monotony of the hezec beyts. Some of these gazels are put into the mouth of his beloved. These gazels are also to be found in his Dīvān, and the question arises as to whether they were transferred from the Dīvān to the Heves-nāme, or vice versa. It is more probable that the gazels were written for the Heves-nāme, as they fit the context: had they originally been written for the Dīvān, their appropriateness for the Heves-nāme would be extremely fortuitous. His claim in the Heves-nāme that he had already composed a Dīvān should not be taken at face value. His claim was probably made to impress his beloved, who says to the go-between:

Didi yine buluş sen ol herife
Anuñla iderek lāğ-u-laṭife

Bize andan anuñ Dīvānın iste
Girān-māye güherler kânın iste

Eger hāẓır degülse bunda Dīvān
Biraz yādında olanlardan iy cān

Aña yazdur getür bir kaç gazeller
Kılalum nuḳl-ı bezm-i rūḥ-perver

Didüm Dīvān n'olur kim cān sizüñdür

Ne kim emr idesüz fermān sizüñdür

73b

Velī böyle gereklü olacağın

Anuñ bu deñlü rağbet bulacağın

Ne bileydük bile almaduk anı

Hayālümde gazellerden olanı

74a

The affair was not to continue, however, because of the impossibility of contact being maintained between the lovers, the woman being fearful of risking her reputation in such an illicit liason. And thus the poem ends in bathos, Ca'fer seemingly being satisfied to accept the unsatisfactory outcome without demur.

2. Mahrûse-i İstanbul Feth-nâmesi

This description of the conquest of Istanbul in 1453 is mentioned only by İsmail Paşa in his Hediyetü 'l-'Arifîn.⁽¹⁾ The text, which was published as a supplement to TOEM (parts 20 and 21, Istanbul 1331) is said to be taken from a manuscript owned by Hâlis Efendi.⁽²⁾ The introduction on Ca'fer Çelebi's life was also written by Hâlis Efendi.

The work is written in a very elegant style, with ayets, hadīs and beyts in Arabic, Persian and Turkish scattered throughout the text, and may be considered one of the finest examples of sixteenth century Ottoman prose writing. Unfortunately, the complexity of the language and the richness of its style has prevented some scholars from appreciating its value as an historical source. S. N. Ergun, in his Türk Şairleri, II

(1) Vol. I, p. 255.

(2) V. L. Menage, in his thesis on the early Ottoman histories, points out that "although Hâlis Efendi's Library now forms part of Istanbul University Library, the manuscript there cannot be his, for it ends differently from the printed text." A Survey of the early Ottoman Histories, with studies on their textual problems and their sources, (Ph.D., University of London 1961), p. 132. The final lines of the University manuscript are given in A. S. Levend's work on ğazavât-nâmes, Gazavat-nâmeler ve Mihaloğlu Ali Beyin Gazavat-nâmesi, (Ankara 1956), p. 17.

p. 836, regards this book as a literary work rather than a history. V. L. Menage describes it as "little more than a literary exercise".⁽¹⁾

A brief examination of the text and a comparison of the information given with that of other historians indicates that Ca'fer's work is in some aspects a reliable source for the conquest of Istanbul. In fact some of the events recorded by him seem to be more accurate than the records of Tursun Beg,⁽²⁾ Neşrî,⁽³⁾ 'Aşıkpaşa-zāde,⁽⁴⁾ Rūhî,⁽⁵⁾ or Enverî.⁽⁶⁾ Tursun Beg's work is a first-hand source for Maḥmed II's reign and his narrative of the siege of Istanbul is regarded as "the most detailed Turkish account by a contemporary Ottoman."⁽⁷⁾ A close examination of both texts reveals the points on which Tursun Beg and Ca'fer agree and disagree. The preparation for

(1) Ibid, p. 180.

(2) Tursun Beg, Tārīḫ-i Ebu 'l-Feth, ed. Mehmed 'Arif, (Istanbul 1330).

(3) Neşrî, Kitāb-ı Cihān-nümā, Vol. II, ed. Faik Reşit Unat and Mehmed A. Köymen, (Ankara 1957).

(4) 'Aşıkpaşa-zāde Tārīḫi, ed. 'Alî Beg, (Istanbul 1332).

(5) Rūhî, Tevārīḫ-i Āl-i 'Osmān, Bodleian Library, Marsh 313.

(6) Enverî, Düstūr-nāme-i Enverî, ed. M. Halil [Yinanç], (Istanbul 1928).

(7) H. İnalcık, 'Mehmed the Conqueror (1432-1481) and his time', Speculum 35 (1960), p. 409.

the siege is given in both sources in equal length.⁽¹⁾ The council of war which was held before the siege and in particular Mehmed II's speech to the council is very detailed in Ca'fer's work.⁽²⁾ Ca'fer's detailed report of the speech might have led one to believe that it was derived substantially from imagination had it not been corroborated by any other historian: Kritovolus' account of this same speech however, is remarkably similar.⁽³⁾ As Professor Halil İnalcık has pointed out, the two versions of the speech given by Kritovolus and Ca'fer, although varying from each other in some places, are in agreement on the essential points.⁽⁴⁾

The chain placed across the entrance to the Golden Horn and its history is very well described in Ca'fer's work,⁽⁵⁾ while Tursun Beg gives it only cursory mention.⁽⁶⁾ The number of vessels which were hauled overland across Galata into the Golden Horn is given in the Feth-nāme as between forty and fifty, whereas Tursun Beg refers to them as "boats and some ships".⁽⁷⁾

(1) Tursun Beg, pp. 42-4; Feth-nāme, pp. 9-10.

(2) Feth-nāme, pp. 6-8.

(3) Tarih-i Sultān Mehmed Han Sānī, trans. Karolidi (Istanbul 1323), pp. 25-37.

(4) H. İnalcık, Fatih Devri Üzerinde Tetkikler ve Vesikalar, (Ankara 1954), pp. 125-6.

(5) Feth-nāme, p. 14.

(6) Tursun Beg, p. 46.

(7) Feth-nāme, p. 15; Tursun Beg, p. 46. However, Neşrī, II, p. 691, and Bihiştī, (Br. Mus. Or. Add. 7369), 154a, are much more certain when they say "there were seventy vessels".

During the siege the Byzantines received help from outside. Ca'fer is more specific about this and states that "four huge vessels full of provisions, soldiers and ammunition came to the help of the Byzantines",⁽¹⁾ while according to Tursun Beg, only two vessels came to their help. The consensus of the historians of the siege would suggest that Tursun Beg is wrong on this point.⁽²⁾

After this incident Mehmed II held a meeting to encourage his officers and soldiers. In both Ca'fer's and Tursun Beg's works⁽³⁾ this meeting is confused with the meeting held just before the conquest of the city.⁽⁴⁾

After the last attack, Istanbul fell into the hands of the Ottoman army. The date given for this is 857 Cem. I, 20 seşenbe in Ca'fer's work, and 857 Cem. II, 27 çeharşenbe in Tursun Beg's book.⁽⁵⁾ Support for both dates can be found in other Ottoman histories, but it is certain that the conquest of Istanbul occurred on the date which is given by Ca'fer.⁽⁶⁾

The plundering and looting which occurred during the first three days of the conquest is vividly described by Ca'fer

(1) Feth-nāme, p. 15. Ca'fer's version of this event is supported by Enverī, p. 95.

(2) H. İnalcık, Fatih Devri, p. 127.

(3) Feth-nāme, pp. 15-17; Tursun Beg, p. 43.

(4) H. İnalcık, Fatih Devri, p. 130.

(5) Feth-nāme, p. 17; Tursun Beg, p. 49.

(6) Feridun Dirimtekin, İstanbulun Fethi (Istanbul 1976), pp. 136-218.

Çelebi,⁽¹⁾ but the withdrawal of Giustiniani and his men which preceded the conquest and the death of the Byzantine Emperor during the capture of the city are omitted in Ca'fer's work. Tursun Beg's account regarding these events is very detailed.⁽²⁾

Ca'fer's closing lines are devoted to the conversion of Ayasofya into a mosque by Mehmed II. This part is presented in all Ottoman histories of that time in almost the same way.

The other Ottoman historians such as 'Aşıkpaşa-zāde, Rūhī and Enverī give comparatively short versions of the conquest, and for the most part usually repeat each other with only slight differences: they do, however, usually favour Ca'fer's version of the conquest.⁽³⁾

It is not clear from the text which sources have been used by Ca'fer to compile his Feth-nāme. The only reference to any source is in the following passage: "Muḥaddiṣān-ı

- (1) According to Ca'fer, so much booty was taken after the conquest that even in his day it was customary to challenge a profligate spender with the following question: "İstanbul yağmasında bile miydüñ?" (Were you present at the sack of Istanbul?) A similar version of this is given by Neşrī, II, p. 707, and İbn-i Kemāl, Tevārīḫ-i Āl-i 'Osmān, VII Defter, ed. S. Turan (Ankara 1957), p. 75.
- (2) Tursun Beg, pp. 50-3.
- (3) For a comparison of Ottoman sources and their accuracy, see H. İnalcık, Fatih Devri, pp. 109-132; Selahaddin Tansel, Osmanlı Kaynaklarına göre Fatih Sultan Mehmedin Siyasi ve Askerî Faaliyeti (Ankara 1953), pp. 62-111, and for European sources, see Feridun Dirimtekin, İstanbulun Fethi (Istanbul 1976).

havādiş-i rûzgār ve müfessirān-ı āyāt-ı taḳallubāt-ı edvār ve müzekkirān-ı me'āşir-i ḥamīde-i eslāf-ı 'izām şöyle hikāyet kıldılar".⁽¹⁾ From this it can be assumed that Ca'fer Çelebi used eye-witness reports as well as written works. It is certain that he did not rely exclusively on any source which is now extant, for he departs from Rūhī, Enverī, Tursun Beg, Neşrī and 'Aşıkpaşa-zāde either by adding new information or giving a conflicting account. It is probable that some of Ca'fer's written sources for his history have disappeared,⁽²⁾ and that Ca'fer did no more than collect the information they give and recast it in his own elegant style. In order to exhibit his talent in inşā and possibly to strengthen his position as a münşī he ornamented the historical facts with extended epithets, ayets, hadīs and beyts, and paid great attention to sec', to such an extent that his work seems, at first glance, to be a literary essay on the conquest of Istanbul.

Although Ca'fer does not mention when he wrote this work, it is probable that he completed it sometime after 399 (1493-4), the date on which he finished his Heves-nāme, from which he has taken the description of Ayasofya and quoted certain of

(1) Feth-nāme, p. 5.

(2) H. İnalcık suggests in his article on Ottoman historiography that there might be other histories available to the sixteenth century historian which are no longer available to us. 'The Rise of Ottoman Historiography' in Historians of the Middle East (London 1962), p. 165.

his beyts from that chapter.

The complete text of the Feth-nāme is given by Nişāncı Celāl-zāde Muṣṭafā Çelebi in his book called Me'āşir-i Selīm Han.⁽¹⁾ The only reference to the Feth-nāme by another historian is that given by Hüseyn, an historian of the seventeenth century.⁽²⁾ A simplified version of the Feth-nāme in latin transcription has been published by Şeref Kayaboğazı: Tuğrayî Ca'fer Çelebi, Mahrūse-i İstanbul Fethnāmesi (Istanbul 1953).

-
- (1) Celāl-zāde explains why he has given the complete text of the Feth-nāme thus: Merhūm Sultān Mehmed Han Gāzī - enāre 'llahu bürhānehü - mukāddemā medīne-i maḥmiye-i Konstantiniyeyi feth itdüklerinde [Ca'fer Çelebi] ol hikāyeti beyān, teshīr-i cemīl ile ğarrā-yı 'azīmü 'ş-şanlarını 'ayān içün tafşīl-i bedī' eylemişlerdür. Teyemmünen bu kitāb-ı müstaṭabda taştīr ve tahrīr olundu ki sāmi'ine sürür ve behcet hāşıl olur. (103a)
- (2) "Merhūm nişāncı Tācī-zāde Ca'fer Çelebi daḥi İstanbulun yevm-i şalıḡde feth olduğın tahrīr ve taşrīh eylemiş". Bedā'i'ü 'l-Vekā'i', II, p. 204b.

3. Münşe'ât

Almost all the sources agree about Ca'fer's abilities as a münşî, most of them ascribing to him a münşe'ât.⁽¹⁾ However, it is not clear from the sources whether the münşe'ât is a separate work, or whether they are using this term loosely to indicate various letters attributed to him and included in other collections. In 1914, in the introduction to Mahrûse-i İstanbul Feth-nāmesi, Hālis Efendi claimed to possess a copy of Ca'fer Çelebi's Münşe'ât in his personal library.⁽²⁾ S. N. Ergun searched for this book, but was unable to find it in Istanbul University Library, where Hālis Efendi's books were placed after his death.⁽³⁾ However, amongst the collection of münşe'ât works in the University Library there is one attributed to Ca'fer Çelebi, İnşā-i Tācī-zāde.⁽⁴⁾ This is clearly a misnomer, for only the first three letters and one other belong to Tācī-zāde Ca'fer Çelebi, the remainder being by various hands. It is very probable that the title page was written by

(1) ŞN, I, p. 439; 'Aşık Çelebi, 61b; Kınalı-zāde, 71a; Riyāzī, 45b; Celāl-zāde, Me'āşir, 103a; KZ, II, p. 1361; Süllem, p. 69.

(2) "ve Münşe'âtı (zamānın vukū'ât-ı mühimmesi üzerine yazılmış şeylerdir) kütüphāne-i 'ācizānemde mevcūddur" TOEM, supplement to no. 20-21, (Istanbul 1331), p. 4.

(3) TŞ, II, p. 886.

(4) Türkçe Yazmalar, 5723.

someone who had read no further than the first three letters in this collection. It may be that this is the work to which Hālis Efendi referred.

Another münşe'āt has been wrongly ascribed to Ca'fer Çelebi by Abdalbaki Gölpınarlı in his catalogue of the books in the Mevlana Museum in Konya.⁽¹⁾ The title given to it is misleading (hāzā inşā be-ḥaṭṭ-ı Tācī merhūm), for some of the letters belong to the reign of Sultān Süleymān Kānūnī, long after the death of Ca'fer and his father.⁽²⁾

It cannot be ascertained with any degree of certainty whether such a work exists. From other collections of münşe'āt and the historical sources six letters can be safely attributed to Ca'fer Çelebi: three written to Şāh İsmail, the ruler of

(1) Mevlana Müzesi Yazmaları Kataloğu (Ankara 1972), II, p. 265, no: 4935.

(2) Some of the letters which are exemplary could well have been composed by Tācī Beg, but others deal with events which took place after his death. This work has also been attributed to Ca'fer by Ş. Tekindağ, in his article on the Çaldıran campaign: 'Yeni Kaynak ve Vesikaların Işığında Yavuz Sultan Selim'in İran Seferi', TD, XVII, 22 (1968), p. 60.

Persia, in the course of the Çaldıran campaign; ⁽¹⁾ on the

- (1) The first letter was written in Persian at İznikmid (Nicomedia) on 27th Şafer 920; Ferīdūn Beg² I, p. 379; İnşā'-i Tācī-zāde (Ün. Ktp. T.Y. 5723), 3b-6b; İdrīs Bidlīsī, Selīm-nāme, 71a-72b; Luṭfī Paşa, Tevārīḥ, pp. 208-13; Tācu 't-Tevārīḥ, II, p. 246-8; Celāl-zāde, Me'āşir, 127a-129a; 'Alī, Künhü 'l-Aḥbār, 177b-178a; Münşe'āt Mecmū'ası (DTCF, İsmail Saib Yazmaları, I/4504), 34a; Hüseyin, Bedā'i'ü 'l-Vekā'i II, 429a-431a. For the Turkish translation of this letter see: Mecmū'a-ı Münşe'āt (Es'ad Efendi, 3879), 23b-25b; Mecmū'a-ı Münşe'āt (Ayasofya 4316) 411a-b.

The second letter was written in Turkish at Erzincan at the end of Cem. I. 920; Ferīdūn Beg² I, p. 383; İnşā'-i Tācī-zāde (Ün. Ktp. T.Y. 5723) 6b-8a; İdrīs Bidlīsī, Selīm-nāme, 76b-77b; Luṭfī Paşa, Tevārīḥ pp. 213-6; Tācu 't-Tevārīḥ, II, pp. 252-4; Celāl-zāde, Me'āşir, 132b-133b; 'Alī, Künhü 'l-Aḥbār, 178b-179a; Münşe'āt mecmū'ası (DTCF, İsmail Saib Yazmaları, I/4504), 36a.

The third letter was written in Turkish also, at Çermük at the end of Cem. II, 920: Ferīdūn Beg² I, p. 385; İnşā'-i Tācī-zāde (Un. Ktp. T.Y. 5723), 9b-11a; Luṭfī Paşa, Tevārīḥ, pp. 214-218; Tācu 't-Tevārīḥ, II, pp. 256-7; Celāl-zāde, Me'āşir, 134b-135b; 'Alī, Künhü 'l-Aḥbār, 179a-180a; Münşe'āt Mecmū'ası (DTCF, İsmail Saib Yazmaları I/4504), 36b.

occasion of the capture of Moton and Koron, ⁽¹⁾ and one to 'Ubeyd Han, the hakan of Samarkand, after the battle of Çaldıran. ⁽²⁾

Further references to letters written by Ca'fer Çelebi can be found in the İn'āmāt Defteri of Bāyezīd II's reign. It is stated there that Ca'fer Çelebi was given a monetary reward for his services, which included the writing of letters to the Sultān of Egypt. ⁽³⁾ None of these have been located.

Although very few of his letters are extant, Ca'fer Çelebi's renown as a münşī would suggest that he was fairly prolific in

- (1) Both letters are in Turkish. The first was sent to the people of Bursa at the end of Şafer 906: Tācī-zāde Sa'dī Çelebi, Münşe'âtı ed. Necati Lugal and Adnan Erzi (Istanbul 1956), p. 45-8.

The second of these was written to Şehzāde Ahmed at the end of Muharrem 906: Ferīdūn Beg² I, p. 338; İnşā'-i Tācī-zāde (Ün. Ktp. T.Y. 5723), 50b-54a. This letter can be attributed to Ca'fer Çelebi only from internal evidence, the wording, apart from the introduction, being the same as that sent to Bursa. Neither Ferīdūn Beg nor the İnşā'-i Tācī-zāde ascribe it to Ca'fer Çelebi.

- (2) The letter is written in Persian and is not dated: Ferīdūn Beg² I, pp. 374-7; İnşā'-i Tācī-zāde (Ün. Ktp, T.Y. 5723), 38a-46a; Münşe'āt Mecmū'ası (DTCF, Ismail Saib Yazmaları I/4504), 43a.
- (3) İn'āmāt Defteri, pp. 25, 366, 402. For the reproduction of these records, see Appendix, A.4; A.19 and A.20 resp.

this field. His style has been praised by all the biographers, with the sole exception of 'Alī. Taşköprü-zāde says: "his letters were many and he was esteemed amongst the litterati". (1) 'Aşık Çelebi remarks: "he was the ruler of the realms of eloquence and expression and his Persian composition is superior to that in Turkish". Mü'eyyed-zāde apparently did not approve of Ca'fer Çelebi's Persian, calling it "Ankara Persian". (2) According to Riyāzī, he was appointed to the post of nişāncı because he was the H^Vāce-i Cihān of his time in the field of inşā, (3) and Kātib Çelebi states that he was peerless in the art of composition. (4) Although 'Alī severely criticizes Ca'fer's poetry and dismisses his letter-writing (inşā) as a mere attempt at composition, he seems to contradict himself when in his account of the campaign of Çaldıran he quotes Ca'fer Çelebi's letters in full, adding that they were unequalled, their style being held in great respect and considered exemplary. One can only conclude that unless he changed his opinion drastically, 'Alī was completely unaware that Ca'fer was the author of the letters which he quotes. (5)

Nevertheless, Ca'fer Çelebi was recognized as an innovator in the field of inşā. Mecdī remarks that after Ca'fer had

(1) ŞN, I, p. 489.

(2) 'Aşık Çelebi, 61b; Kınalı-zāde merely repeats the same, 71a.

(3) Riyāzī, 45b.

(4) Süllem, p. 69.

(5) Kühü 'l-Aḥbār, 177b, 178b, 179b.

become nişāncı, he introduced innovations in the style, the form and the organization of letters and decrees. (1) There is no doubt that it was during Ca'fer Çelebi's term of office that the art of letter-writing ceased to use the simple Turkish style of his predecessors and acquired the ornamentation and embellishment which were to be employed by all his successors. (2)

Quite apart from their literary merit, Ca'fer's six extant letters have great value as historical documents. His account of the conquest of Moton remains the most detailed and most vivid narrative describing the capture of this city.

(1) Mecdī, I, p. 336.

(2) İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, Osmanlı Tarihi (Ankara 1949), II, p. 629. According to T. Gökbilgin, there were five writers who introduced new style into letter-writing: Tācī-zāde Ca'fer Çelebi, Koca Nişāncı, Ramażān-zāde, Okçu-zāde and Hamza Paşa (İA, nişancı, IX, p.301).

4. Enīsü 'l-'Ārifīn⁽¹⁾

Kātib Çelebi is alone among the sources to mention this work, which is a translation of Mevlānā Şükrüllāh's treatise on ethics, with the same title.⁽²⁾ In an elegantly written introduction, Ca'fer Çelebi states that Hadım 'Ali Paşa⁽³⁾ had asked him to translate this work from Persian into Turkish.⁽⁴⁾

(1) The manuscript used is British Museum Or. 8016.

(2) Kātib Çelebi, KZ, II, p. 2047.

(3) Hadım 'Ali Paşa was one of the most influential statesmen of the period. Many poets such as Mesīhī, Ca'fer Çelebi and the historian İdrīs Bidlīsī enjoyed his special patronage. For 'Ali Paşa, see R. Mantran's article in EI², I, p. 396.

(4) Ol faşl-ı ferverdinde ... bu bende-i bī-mikdār ve bu kemīne-i hāksāra hitāb-ı vacibü 't-ta'zīm vārid oldu ki ... Kitāb-ı Enīsü 'l-'Ārifīn, ki dürc-i dürer-i hikmet ve burc-ı gurer-i pend ü naşihatdūr, zebān-ı farisīden türkiye tercüme eyleyem, bir hażretten ki şāhib-i dīvān-ı vezāret ve şāhib-i dīvān-ı şadāret ... (Tercüme-i Enīsü 'l-'Ārifīn, Br. Mus. Or. 8016, 3b).

Although 'Ali Paşa is not mentioned by name in the above dedication, this is given thus in the kaşīde addressed to him:

Neyyir-i burc-ı vezāret maṭla'-ı luṭf-u-kerem
Āfitāb-ı 'izz-ü-devlet āsümān-ı kibriyā

Muştafā-siret 'Ömer-heybet 'Ali Paşa kim ol
Şıdk ile Bū Bekrdür hilm ile 'Osmān-hayā

The introduction is followed by a kaşide written in honour of 'Alî Paşa. (1)

The work consists of fifteen chapters, each of which deals with one aspect of ethics. (2) In stark contrast to the ornate style of the introduction, the translation is in a very simple Turkish style which one would hardly attribute to Ca'fer Çelebi, the famous münşî. (3) The beyts of the original work are translated into Turkish beyts, generally in the same metre.

-
- (1) This kaşide, which is not included in the Mss. of the Dīvān, will be found on p.133 of the present edition.
- (2) For the contents of the Enisü 'l-'Arifîn, see S. N. Ergun TŞ, II, p. 337.
- (3) As an illustration of this simple style, I quote a short passage from the book:

Hikāyet: Ma'rûf-ı Kerhînüñ haşâ'il-i hamîdesinden biri oldur ki bir gün bir şu kenârına yitişdi, diledi ki âbdest ala. Koynında bir muşhafı var idi anı bir yirde koyub âbdest almağa meşgûl oldı. Bir 'avret gelüb ol muşhafı uğurladı. Ma'rûf âbdesti tamām itdüğinden soñra ol 'avretüñ ardına düşdi. 'Avret bunı görüb gāyet havf eyledi. Ma'rûf eyitdi, "Vehm eyleme. Eger Kur'an okumak bilürseñ muşhafı saña bağışladum". 'Avret eyitdi ki, "Bilmezem". Ma'rûf eyitdi ki, "Ya muşhafı neden ötürü alduñ?" 'Avret eyitdi, "Andan ötürü aldum ki bir pîrâhene degüşdürem". Ma'rûf eyitdi, "Muşhafı baña vir ben saña pîrâhen vireyin". Pes muşhafı 'avretten alub çıkardı geydügi pîrâheni aña viridi. (89b-90a)

The date of translation is not given. Since 'Ali Paşa occupied the post of grand vizier twice during the reign of Bāyezīd II, 1501-1503, and 1506-1511, the work might have been translated in either of these periods. We have not found any evidence that would indicate a specific date.⁽¹⁾

- (1) Although S. N. Ergun, TŞ, II, p. 837, says that "the translation might have been completed after 1506", he does not give any evidence to support his claim.

5. Kūs-nāme

This work is no longer extant and its title is variously given by Taşköprü-zāde as the Kūs-nāme, and by 'Aşık Çelebi as the Kūs-nāme.⁽¹⁾ According to the latter, it is satirical in nature.⁽²⁾

Some have supposed that 'Aşık Çelebi was the first to make mention of this work, but we find an earlier mention of it in the Şekā'ik.⁽³⁾

That Ca'fer was quite capable of writing obscene satire is supported not only by the existence of some lampoons in his Dīvān, but also by the fact that the sources all refer

(1) ŞN, I, p. 489; 'Aşık Çelebi, 62a. If we are to accept the spelling of Kūs-nāme with a kāf (as قوسنامه) we can then read it as the Kavs-nāme, which would seem a more appropriate title for a satirical work.

(2) "Ve hezelden Kūs-nāme adlu bir nāmesi vardır". 62a

(3) I, p. 489. وله نظم كتاب بالتركية سماه بقوسنامه

S. N. Ergun (TŞ, II, p. 387), T. Gökbilgin (İA, III, p. 10) and Gibb (HOP II, p. 275) have claimed that the first mention of this work was in 'Aşık Çelebi's tezkiye. That they fail to mention the earlier attestation in the Şekā'ik is probably due to the fact that Mevdī, in his translation, left out all mention of the Kūs-nāme.

to his double personality, both refined scholar and sensualist. ⁽¹⁾

- (1) This aspect of Ca'fer's character is well substantiated by the authorities: 'Aşık Çelebi refers in his Tezkire to Ca'fer's informal manner, his fondness for women and his predilection for satire (149a, 216b); 'Alī relates that Ca'fer once seduced a woman of honour (Kūnhū 'l-Aḥbār, 204b); Celāl-zāde Muşṭafā Çelebi remarks that Ca'fer had two sides to his character: "Lākin mizaclarında nev'an zarāfet ve denā'et olmak isnād ederlerdi" (Me'āşir 103a), and also makes reference to his notorious fondness for women: "anlaruñ beyne 'l-enām zen-dostluḡ ile iştihār-ları var idi" (Me'āşir, 143b).

D. LITERARY PERSONALITY OF CA'FER ÇELEBI

1. The Literary Environment

No valid judgement of any poet can be made without reference to his predecessors and his contemporaries, the one forming the base from which his own work departs, and the other the area of appreciation in which it received recognition. T. S. Eliot expresses this principle thus:

No poet, no artist of any art, has his complete meaning alone. His significance, his appreciation is the appreciation of his relation to the dead poets and artists. You cannot value him alone; you must set him, for contrast and comparison, among the dead. (1)

To this should be added the influence his work exerted on succeeding generations; the survival of a reputation, in fact, being the surest guide to the value placed on a poet by his own society.

In the absence of an acceptable aesthetic theory for Divan literature, the modern scholar is compelled to rely on criteria such as these in his effort to appraise the significance of the literary artists of the past; his own personal judgements and preferences, while always of importance, must inevitably in some measure distort the qualities which made the author under consideration popular in his own society and his own age.

(1) Selected Essays (London 1951), p. 15

However, to confine oneself entirely to the historical setting of a work of art, as the latter would imply, would inhibit the reader from expressing any critical opinion, and thereby reduce his observations to the level of documentations.

The very nature of Divan poetry is an obstacle even to establishing clearly this inter-relationship among poets of the same or different generations. Immediately one is confronted with the question whether or not we can interpret some similarities as evidence of one writer's dependence on another. Or we can ask the same question in a different way: are similarities or parallels in literary works enough evidence to establish the existence of an influence? But to presume an influence merely on the basis of such similarities in a literature, one of the most common practices of which was the writing of nazīres, could be misleading.

One of the main difficulties arises from the fact that Divan literature, like its Persian model, is a literature of convention. The Divan poets were thus compelled to produce work similar in subject-matter and form, and to employ a vocabulary constructed around motifs and images already employed by others. Moreover, the similarities in the education which they received and the societies in which they lived with the common heritage of Islamic culture produced in them a shared attitude to life. To take but a random example, those similes and metaphors about the stars and planets which merely state certain prevailing generalizations concerning cosmology found their way into the poetry of almost all the Divan poets. To

what extent would a judgement deducted from similarities in this respect be valid? If we take into consideration the fact that for centuries Çağmini's Mûlahhas on cosmology and its commentaries were used in the medreses as text-books,⁽¹⁾ we would be inclined to assume a common source for these expressions rather than the existence of an influence.

The determination of the influence which one poet exerted on others is an important problem confronting the literary critic in his appraisal of Divan literature. But the most important of all is the definition of the literary tradition which took shape in previous centuries and to find out to what extent any given poet contributed to this literary heritage. It is in this area that the creative power of the Divan poet is revealed. Therefore we can speak of influence only when we find traces of characteristic unconventional motifs or unusual imagery appearing in the works of the poet's successors. If such traces cannot be found, to suggest an accumulative influence or the existence of a common source would be more preferable than to look for a specific derivation.⁽²⁾

When we speak of influence we must however make it clear that a completely different concept, that of imitation exists.

(1) İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, İlmiye Teşkilâtı, pp. 20-21.

(2) Ihab H. Hassan, 'The Problem of Influence in Literary History: Notes towards a definition', Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, XIV (1955), pp. 66; 74-5.

As Laṭīfī mentions, imitation was very common in Divan literature:

... Zemānede şā'ir ve müteşā'ir nā-ma'lūm olub 'arşa-ı naẓm muḳallid ve ehl-i taḳlīd ile ṭolmuş ... Ve ekşerinüñ evrāk ve eş'ārını tefahḥuş ider olsañ kelimāt-ı me'hūze-sinüñ me'hāzı ma'lūm olub her beyti bir dīvāndan almış ve her ma'nāyı bir şāhib-'irfāndan çalmışdur. (1)

Imitation is the taking-over of the entire emagination of others, expressing it with only superficial modifications. In influence, however, what is important is the forming of new relationships between the already existing themes and the borrowed images and motifs. Laṭīfī regards even this as an allowable kind of plagiarism:

(ma'kūle-i düzdüñ) bir kısmı daḥi üstāduñ naẓmında bir ma'nāyı görür anı bir nūkte-i bārike ālet-i mūlahāza düşürür. Ṭab'-ı pāk ve luṭf-ı idrāk ile ol ma'nādan bir ma'nā daḥi ḥayāl ider ve ol şan'atden bir şan'ate daḥi intikāl ider. Bu kısım şā'ir-i mübdi' gibi aḳşām-ı mezbūreden evlā ve nāẓım-ı muḥteri' gibi cümleden a'lādur. (2)

In attempting to establish an influence, we must, first of all, have external evidence. Therefore, we need to know

(1) Laṭīfī, pp. 24-5.

(2) Laṭīfī, p. 31.

the nature and extent of our author's contact with his predecessors and contemporaries.⁽¹⁾ Once we have established a kind of relationship between our author and other poets, we need to find out whether the former actually read any of the works of the latter. Although in answering these questions the literary sources might give us great help, the work of the author in question can be regarded as the most reliable source. In particular, the practice of writing nazīres in Divan literature can be taken as an important indication, since it is necessary for a poet to read his model before writing his nazīre.

Moreover, in many cases, the Divan poets in their work, either mention the name of their üstād whom they have imitated at the beginning of their career or in their formative period, or they challenge the outstanding poets in order to make a name for themselves. In both cases one can find some information to establish a relationship between certain poets.

While external evidence might lead us to assume a possible influence, the mere existence of such external evidence is, in itself, not sufficient to permit us to speak with certainty about such a connection. To attempt to reach a conclusion merely by depending on external evidence would most likely

(1) R. D. Altick, The Art of Literary Research, (New York 1963), pp. 87-90; Gören Hermerén, Influence in Art and Literature (Princeton 1976), p. 260.

lead to unconvincing conclusions. It was because of this attitude that the influence of Nevā'ī on Ahmed Paşa was exaggerated by the Ottoman critics, who felt he could be dismissed as a mere imitator. (1)

After using external evidence to establish the nature of the relationship between two poets, the second stage will consist of textual and comparative study, using stylistic, linguistic and aesthetic judgements.

The early development of the Divan poets was achieved by writing works in imitation of some admired predecessor or contemporary, and in this way he was able to master the craft of composition. (2) When we study the Dīvān of Ca'fer, we come across a large number of naẓīres, most of which are modelled on Ahmed Paşa's poems and some on poems by Şeyhī and Necātī. 'Aşık Çelebi mentions Ca'fer's relationship with his teacher Hacı Hasan-zāde, who was a poet himself and used the pen-name Vāhidī, and gives an example of exchange of poetry between them. However, due to unavailability of the latter's Dīvān

(1) M. F. Köprülü, Ahmed Paşa, İA, I, p. 191.

(2) Not only in Turkish literature, but also in Persian and Arabic, conscious imitation was regarded as one of the important methods by which an author could discover his own nature and his own identity. See Gustave E. Von Grunebaum, 'The Concept of Plagiarism in Arabic Theory', Journal of Near Eastern Studies III, (1944), pp. 234-53.

we are not in a position to define the extent of their relationship.

Ahmed Paşa is probably the first poet who influenced Ca'fer Çelebi. External evidence for their relationship can be obtained not only from the numerous nazîres Ca'fer wrote to him but also from some references in Ca'fer's Dīvān and the Heves-nāme. It is most likely that Ca'fer at the beginning of his career as a poet, while he was still in the process of establishing his own style, wrote in imitation of Ahmed Paşa. The examples given below, if not actually unacknowledged tazmîn, are certainly mere imitations:

2. Muṭribüñ gül-gün yüzinde perde-i evtār-ı çeng
Çekdi mıstar şafha-i hırşîd ü mehtâb üstine

Ahmed Paşa, K. 17

19. Husrevâ medh-ü-senâñı yazmağa zülfeyn-i yâr
Çekdi mıstar şafha-i hırşîd ü mehtâb üstine

Ca'fer, K. 6

* * *

2. Beni söğüt gibi başdan ayağa hançere sancar
Hey ol serv-i hevâ-bahşâ hevâdâr olmasun kimse

Ahmed Paşa, G. 269

2. Şu gibi 'âşık-ı dîdâr olanı pâyımâl eyler
Hey ol serv-i hevâ-bahşâ hevâdâr olmasun kimse

Ca'fer, G. 205

In the following example Ca'fer Çelebi repeats Ahmed Paşa's second mısrâ' verbatim and expresses the idea of the original

first mısrā' with different words:

2. Cümle maḫşūduñ müyesser hem murāduñ cümle rām
Devletüñ pāyende vü 'ömrüñ dirāz olsun begüm

Aḫmed Paşa, G. 194

2. Ḳadd-i ra'nā rūy-ı zībā devletin virmiş Ḥüdā
Devletüñ pāyende vü 'ömrüñ dirāz olsun begüm

Ca'fer, G. 143

Ca'fer Çelebi sometimes takes an entire mısrā' from Aḫmed Paşa, changing only one word:

37. Bir senā dürrin çıkardı baḫr-ı ṭab'um mevci kim
Cān virür ḡavvāş olan ol dürr-i nā-yāb üstine

Aḫmed Paşa, Ḳ. 17

20. Dil ḡalub vaşfında 'āciz bir ḡazel naẓm eyledi
Cān virür şarrāf olan ol dürr-i nā-yāb üstine

Ca'fer, Ḳ. 6

In the above example, Ca'fer changed only one word in Aḫmed Paşa's second mısrā', and by so doing established a new connection between his own first mısrā' and the second.

In the next example, he first takes the second mısrā' of a beyt by Aḫmed Paşa, changing only one word, and then later in the same kaşīde he incorporates the entire beyt in different words:

36. İşıḡüñ ṭopraḡına yüz sürdügüm ma'zūr ṭut
Çün ḡadīmī resmdür tezḡīb olur bāb üstine

Aḫmed Paşa, Ḳ. 17

15. Āsitānuñdur felek olsa 'aceb mi zer-nigār
Kim kādīmī resmdür tezhīb olur bāb üstine

Ca'fer, K. 6

38. Kible-i erbāb-ı hācetdür kapuñ yüz sürdügüm
Vechi budur kim olur tezhīb mihrāb üstine

Ca'fer, K. 6

Sometimes the same images and ideas are expressed in a slightly different way:

9. Berāt-ı hüsni beyāzında kaşı halkların
Nişān-ı pādişeh-i kāmkāra beñzetdüm

Ahmed Paşa, G. 201

11. Görüb bu mäh-likānuñ hilāl ebrūsın
Rikāb-ı pādişeh-i kāmkāra beñzetdüm

Ca'fer, G. 141

* * *

6. Ka'be-i kūyün tavāfına ne sa'y eyler rakīb
Mekkeye varmak revā mıdur müselmān olmayan

Ahmed Paşa, G. 227

5. Şohbetüñde n'eyler ey hürī-likā bī-dīn rakīb
Cennete girmez bilürsin hod müselmān olmayan

Ca'fer, G. 154

* * *

4. Senüñ bu şir pençeñde cihān-gīrlər zebün iken
Rakīb-i rubehe varub ne içün naḥḥīr olasın sen

Ahmed Paşa, G. 246

3. Niçe bîn şîr-merd âhû gözüne şayd olur iken
Rakîb-i kelbe düşmez kim varub naḥçir olasin sen
Ca'fer, G. 158

In the following beyts it is clear that Ca'fer Çelebi owed a great deal to Ahmed Paşa's imagination:

4. Çîn-i zülfinden nigâr el urdı nâgeh yüzine
Didi gâlib Rûmdan leşker çıkar şâm üstine
Ahmed Paşa, G. 227

4. Tañ mı ḥaddüñden teveccüh itse diller zülfüñe
Şimdi mi leşker gelübdür Rûmdan şâm üstine
Ca'fer, G. 193

* * *

7. Rûmı evrâk-ı gül-i ḥandân tutar hoş bûy ile
Gül yüzüñ vaşfında Ahmed nice kim defter yazar
Ahmed Paşa, G. 66

4. Gonca cûzdânındaki rengin varaklardan bahâr
Gül yüzüñ vaşfında her yıl tâze bir defter yazar
Ca'fer, G. 50

* * *

9. Umaram ḥâliş ola zer gibi bu kalb-i siyâh
Kîmyâdur bilürem şohbeti dervîşlerüñ
Ahmed Paşa, K. 9

7. Himmet itse kara toprağı kızıl altun ider
Kîmyâ oldu meger himmeti dervîşlerüñ
Ca'fer, K. 3

In the following beyts there is an example of the way in Ca'fer Çelebi reduces two beyts by Ahmed Paşa into one:

1. Oldı turunc-ı ğabġabuñ ey sım-ber leziz

Olmaḡ behişt mīveleri bu kadar leziz

2. Vaşluñ na'imi lezzetini kande söyleyem

Ki olur ġamuñ dile nite kim gül-şeker leziz

Ahmed Paşa, G. 32

2. Seng-i cefāsi lezzetini kande vaşf idem

Olmaḡ bihişt meyveleri ol kadar leziz

Ca'fer, G. 21

The year 899, the date when Ca'fer Çelebi wrote the Heves-nāme, can be regarded as a turning point in his poetry. As explained in a previous section, he criticised Ahmed Paşa in his introduction to the Heves-nāme, and reproached him with translating ideas from Persian literature. In the Heves-nāme Ca'fer condemns imitation and defends originality, and claims that he wrote this work with the intention of producing something of originality. Probably at this period of his life Ca'fer believed that his literary personality had matured and he had reached a certain level of competency, and therefore wished to challenge Ahmed Paşa, who was regarded at that time as the greatest poet. Thus, later, in a kaşide written to celebrate the capture of Moton, he describes himself as having taken the place of Ahmed Paşa:

93. Ğam degül dürdiyse devrān defterini Ahmedüñ

Buldı çün ni'me 'l-bedel Ca'fer gibi kâ'im-maḡām

K. 14

Ahmed Paşa wrote a kaşide for Sultān Cem with a redif in "benefşe". In a nazire to this kaşide, written probably in 909 (1503) and dedicated to Sultān Bāyezīd II, Ca'fer challenges Ahmed Paşa:

56. Bu şî'r sevâdın okusun kanı ki Ahmed
Görsün ki nice olur imiş bârî benefşe

K. 17

The influence of Ahmed Paşa upon Ca'fer Çelebi is clearly demonstrated in his gazels. Although Ca'fer Çelebi had a wide cultural background and a strong literary style, in comparison with Ahmed Paşa he was poorer in imagination. Therefore he was continually looking for a source of inspiration, and this he found mostly in the works of Ahmed Paşa. However, he usually expressed these ideas in a different manner in his own poetic vocabulary and strong style:

1. Ne kamerdür bu ki olmuş zülf müşk-efşân aña
Nice reyhândur haatı kim kalmışam hayrân aña

Ahmed Paşa, G. 4

1. Sebz haat kim sâye şalmış zülf-i müşk-efşân aña
Hızrdur k'olmuş müyesser 'ömr-i bî-pâyân aña

Ca'fer, G. 5

In the next example, it can be seen that Ca'fer Çelebi has expressed an idea taken from Ahmed Paşa and Necâtî in clearer and more colloquial language:

5. Zülfinün şerhini Aḥmed nice kütāh ide kim
Vaşf-ı sevdāda dirāz oldu zebānı kalemün

Aḥmed Paşa, G. 159

6. Vaşf-ı ḥālüm yazalı zülfün ucından şanem
Başı derd ile kara kana boyandı kalemün

Necātī, G. 322

7. Başın aşığa idüb şevkümi yazmakdan aña
Ca'ferā indi gözine kara şular kalemün

Ca'fer, G. 93

Apart from his nazīres to Aḥmed Paşa, Ca'fer made a taẓmīn to one of his gazels, but without mentioning his name.⁽¹⁾

Another poet mentioned in Ca'fer's Dīvān is Şeyhī. Ca'fer boasts that learned men likened him to Şeyhī on account of his poetic style and the feeling he expressed in his poetry:

7. Sūz ile sözde çü gösterdi kerāmet Ca'fer
Anuñ erbāb-ı kemāl adını Şeyhī didiler

G. 29

Also in one of his kaşīdes Ca'fer makes a taẓmīn to a mıṣrā' by Şeyhī:

36. Niçe kim Şeyhī dilinden söylene efvāhda
Yıl gibi bir şubḥ 'azm-i kūy-ı yār itsem gerek

K. 19

(1) Dīvān, p. 402; Aḥmed Paşa, G. 226

The influence of Şeyhî, who was regarded as one of the founders of Divan literature, extended for a long time over succeeding poets, even Ahmed Paşa writing nazîres to his kaşîdes and gazels. Necâtî, too, regarded Şeyhî as his üstâd and praised him on various occasions. (1) This must be the reason why Ca'fer wrote in the Heves-nâme that Şeyhî was regarded as one of the two poets most renowned in Turkish literature. However, his attitude towards Şeyhî in the Heves-nâme is negative. He criticizes him for his lack of eloquence, for using strange words and for translating from other literatures. Ca'fer Çelebi's open stand against Şeyhî can be interpreted as evidence of his belief in his own literary competence and his desire to oppose the wholesale borrowing from Persian literature which was initiated by Şeyhî. Anhegger says that in the fifteenth century a conscious opposition arose to the domination of Persian literature over Turkish literature, and that Ca'fer Çelebi was involved in this movement, which gave more importance to original works rather than translations. (2)

Although in Ca'fer Çelebi's Dîvân we find some nazîres written to Şeyhî we do not find in them sufficient similarities to enable us to speak of an influence. Despite the fact that there are a number of mısrâ's in which the same motifs and imagery are employed, these are few. In the following example

(1) Mehmed Çavuşoğlu, Necâtî Bey Dîvânının Tahlili (Istanbul 1971), p. 65.

(2) R. Anhegger, 'Selâtin-nâme Müellifi Kemâl,' TDİD IV, 4, pp. 456-7.

it is seen that Ca'fer Çelebi expresses an idea taken from Şeyhî with the same imagery and practically the same vocabulary:

1. Dil müselsel zülfünün sevdâsı-la dīvānedür
Cân münevver hüsni'nün şem'inde bir pervānedür

Şeyhî, G. 192

1. Zülfinün zencirine dil bir mehün dīvānedür
Kim çerāğ-ı hüsnine şem'-i felek pervānedür

Ca'fer, G. 46

Most of the other resemblances can be explained, as mentioned above, by the common cultural heritage and source, rather than by an influence from Şeyhî:

6. Zülf ü hâlin dilberün gördükçe ey dil kıl hâzer
Kim kılan her demde mürği şayd dām-u-dānedür

Şeyhî, G. 192

4. Ruḥlarınıñ hâlidür beni giriftâr eyleyen
Ravza-i cennetde lâ-büd dām-ı Âdem dānedür

Ca'fer, G. 46

The resemblance in the next example consists of a very common relation in Divan literature between rakīb-it-düşman:

4. Seni sevenün ağladuğına sevinürsin
Sakın ki işidüb işüne düşmen güler ey dōst

Şeyhî, G. 12

3. Ağladuğuma derd ile düşmenler olur şād
Raḥm it baña kim hālūme itler güler ey dōst

Ca'fer, G. 12

Although Ca'fer sometimes uses the same motifs, by forming different connections, he gives an entirely different meaning to the beyt:

4. Bilmezem yākūt-ı aḥmer mi lebūñ ya kūt-ı rūḥ
Bir şor ey şarrāf-ı devrān kim ne cevher devridür
Şeyhī, G. 29

7. İrdi hengām-ı şitā yākūt-ı seyyāl al ele
Ca'ferā şarrāf iseñ bil kim ne cevher devridür
Ca'fer, G. 40

Neither in his Dīvān nor in the Heves-nāme does Ca'fer mention the name of Necātī, nor do we find in the sources any indication of a relationship between them. Although this could be explained by the fact that Necātī spent a large part of his life outside Istanbul and did not hold any important position in the capital, we cannot conclude from this that Ca'fer did not see Necātī's poetry. On the other hand, the fact that, besides his anxiety to use phrases and expressions like Necātī, Ca'fer wrote nazīres to him and sometimes employed Necātī's imagery and motifs, leads us to believe that a relationship existed between them. In the following examples, in particular in the second mısrā's, there are striking similarities:

3. Nergislerüñi ko uyusun gül yüzünde kim
Olur bahār günleri ḥ^Vāb-ı seher lezīz
Necātī, G. 54

5. Ca'fer şubḥ-ı vaşla ire şevkden ölür
Vakt-i seherde uyku olur dōstlar lezīz
Ca'fer, G. 21

2. Dökmedin devr yire cür'a gibi kanumuzu
Sakıyā nüş idelüm al berü şol kanlıktan
Necātī, G. 396

1. Bet beñiz kalmadı ben hastada hayrānlıktan
Sākıyā dem idelüm şun berü şol kanlıktan
Ca'fer, G. 164

* * *

3. Bir destmāl ile siler āhir kefen bizi
Dimez ki bu gedā imiş ol pādişā imiş
Necātī, p. 110

10. Ol şeh kanı ki 'āleme in'āmı 'ām idi
Dimezdi bu tūvānger imiş ol gedā-yimiş
Ca'fer, K. 31

* * *

3. Hüsn meydānında top olalı zülf-i müşğ-bār
Kalmadı bir şehriyāruñ elde çevgānı dürüst
Necātī, G. 36

4. Cynamakdan top idüb başın şikeste dillerüñ
Kalmamışdur kılca yārüñ zülfi çevgānı dürüst
Ca'fer, G. 13

* * *

10. Luṭf idüb şorar iseñ hasta Necātī hālin
Gāh olur bilmez olur kendüzini gāh bilür
Necātī, G. 64

5. Fikr alur Ca'feri şol deñlü hayālünle ki gāh
Yitürür bilmez olur kendüzini gāh bilür
Ca'fer, G. 33

In the following beyts, although there are some similarities, because of the use of an imagery very common in Divan literature, we cannot say with certainty that an influence exists:

2. Şöyle kim ardıncadur dā'im Züleyhā-veş şabā
Sezmezem gül Yüsufinuñ kala dāmānı dürüst
Necātī, G. 36

2. Çün şabā pīrāhenüñ bûyın iletđi gülşene
Kalmadı bir gonçanuñ hergiz giribānı dürüst
Ca'fer, G. 13

* * *

1. Gül muşhafın şabā yili açdı varak varak
'İşk āyetini bûlbûl okudı sebak sebak
Necātī, G. 281

1. Mecmû'a-i cemālûñi açub varak varak
'İşkuñ mu'alliminden okur cân sebak sebak
Ca'fer, G. 91

* * *

1. Yirüñ var eyā kıaddı elif cânlar içinde
Hayf ola ki 'ömrüñ geçe dükkānlar içinde
Necātī, G. 553

1. Bir serv ki yok mişli gülistānlar içinde
Yir itđi elif gibi girüb cânlar içinde
Ca'fer, G. 170

In determining the extent of a poet's fame the most important sources are the views of contemporary and near-contemporary tezkiye writers. The views of later tezkiye writers might give some idea of whether his fame had lasted

through centuries.

The first of these to mention Ca'fer Çelebi is Sehī Beg, who wrote his work in 945 (1533), not long after Ca'fer's death. Therefore his opinion of Ca'fer is important as being the closest available contemporary evaluation. He speaks of Ca'fer as follows:

Şi'r-ü-inşāya mütetebbi' ehl-i faẓl ve şāhib-i ma'rifet
kişi idi ... Eş'ārı vāfir ve kendüsi nefīs şā'ir, Dīvānı
elsine-i nāsda mütedāvil ve meşnevī tarzında Heves-nāme
adlu bī-bedel bir kitābı var, haylī çok ma'ānī cem'
itmişdür. Nazmı laṭif ve kendüsi zarīf bir kimse idi.⁽¹⁾

It may be seen from this that Ca'fer's contemporaries appreciated his Heves-nāme, and that his Dīvān was widely read.

Laṭīfī, who completed his Tezkire in 953 (1546), apart from repeating Sehī, speaks at length on the originality of the Heves-nāme.⁽²⁾ Laṭīfī's testimony indicates that even more than half a century after the writing of this work, it was still considered as an original composition.

'Aşık Çelebi wrote his Tezkire in 976 (1563-9), more than half a century after Ca'fer's death. From the information he gives, it is clear that Ca'fer had retained his reputation as both poet and münşī.

If Kınalı-zāde Hasan Çelebi is not merely repeating the

(1) Tezkire-i Sehī, p. 23.

(2) For his views on the Heves-nāme, see section on Ca'fer's works.

views of previous tezkiye-writers, it could be said that the Heves-nāme was still appreciated a century later:

... Muşannefâtından manzûm Heves-nāmesi meşhûr, ve kemāl-i belāğat ve nihāyet-i feşāhat ile makbûl-ı cûmhûrdur. (1)

Since the information given by later tezkiye-writers such as Beyānī, Riyāzī and Kaf-zāde Fā'izī were taken from previous tezkiyes, and in particular from those of 'Aşık Çelebi and Hasan Çelebi, their views concerning Ca'fer Çelebi do not reflect the opinions of their own time, and for this reason can be discounted.

In addition to the Tezkiyes, naẓīre mecmū'as and şi'r mecmū'as also give information on the extent of a poet's reputation and the literary taste of the period. By means of these mecmū'as we can determine what particular poems by which poets were most appreciated and discover which poets wrote naẓīres to one another. Moreover, the presence of poems by a particular poet in mecmū'as compiled at various different periods, can be taken as evidence that, at a specific time, the work of that poet was still being read.

A large proportion of the gazels by Ca'fer Çelebi are found in mecmū'as compiled in the 16th and early 17th centuries. (2)

(1) Kınalı-zāde, 71b.

(2) For the distribution of his gazels in the mecmū'as, see Appendix B.

Eğridirli Hacı Kemāl, who compiled his Cāmi'ü 'n-nezā'ir in 918 (1512), included ten gazels by Ca'fer Çelebi. The Cāmi'ü 'n-nezā'ir of Edirneli Nazmī, written between 930 and 940 (1524-34), contains 73 of Ca'fer's gazels. Pervāne Beg, in the mecmū'a which bears his name, compiled in 963 (1557-8), took 80 gazels by Ca'fer Çelebi. The other mecmū'as which contain gazels by Ca'fer are undated and were probably written towards the end of the 16th and at the beginning of the 17th century. In addition, in a mecmū'a containing kaşīdes by famous poets of the 15th and 16th centuries, we find 10 kaşīdes by Ca'fer, and also kaşīdes addressed to him by Mesīhī and Zātī.⁽¹⁾ From the evidence of nazīre and şi'r mecmū'as, we can see that, almost a century after his death, Ca'fer had retained his reputation and his works continued to attract attention.

In nazīre mecmū'as it is mentioned that certain poets, such as Başıri, Nihālī, Mesīhī, Revānī, İshak Çelebi, Kemāl-paşa-zāde, Zātī and 'Amrī, wrote nazīres to Ca'fer Çelebi. One of these, Mesīhī, aside from his nazīres also wrote kaşīdes in praise of Ca'fer and requested of him appointment as a dīvān kâtib.⁽²⁾ It is difficult to say whether Mesīhī, who had his own particular style and manner of expression, came under the influence of Ca'fer. In the following examples there is some similarity between the imagery of Ca'fer and that of

(1) Kaşā'id-i Türkiye, Süleymaniye Lib. Es'ad Efendi, no. 3413.

(2) 'Aşık Çelebi, 123a. For his kaşīdes addressed to Ca'fer Çelebi, see, Mesīhī, kaşīdes no. 6-10.

Mesîhî:

4. Ruḥlarınuñ ḥālidür beni giriftār eyleyen
Ravza-i cennetde lâ-büd dām-ı Âdem dānedür
Ca'fer, G. 46

5. Ey Mesîhî ḥūblar şayd itmege şî'rûñdeki
Ḥalka-i cîm ile her bir nokta dām-u-dānedür
Mesîhî, G. 84

* * *

1. Öykündügi içün leblerüñe ey nigār la'l
Her lahza surḥ-rūdur olub şerm-sār la'l
Ca'fer, G. 117

1. Öykündi gerçi leblerüñe ey nigār la'l
Soñra yüzi kızardı olub şerm-sār la'l
Mesîhî, G. 143

* * *

2. İşiginde yir bulalı göge irmişdür başum
Māh-ı nev kim görünür taraf-ı külāhumdur benüm
Ca'fer, G. 132

5. Ey Mesîhî gün degüldür āsümānda görinen
Şādlıkdan göge atduğum külāhumdur benüm
Mesîhî, G. 160

* * *

1. Çarḥa yir yir od uran her gice āhumdur benüm
Tîre iden 'ālemi dūd-ı siyāhumdur benüm
Ca'fer, G. 132

2. Āhum ile yüzeyüz oldukça çarḥuñ her gice
Yüzini kara kılan dūd-ı siyāhumdur benüm
Mesîhî, G. 160

Zātī, in relating his life to 'Aşık Çelebi, says that he enjoyed a comfortable life under the protection of Ca'fer Çelebi, but that after Ca'fer's dismissal and especially after his execution, he was left without a patron and suffered greatly.⁽¹⁾ In order to obtain favours from Ca'fer, Zātī wrote a number of kaşīdes in his praise.⁽²⁾ In his Dīvān, there are gazels written as nazīres to those of Ca'fer, in which Zātī sometimes makes use of Ca'fer's imagery or employs his motifs, and sometimes takes an idea as a whole:

1. N'ola ruḡ-ı zībāna kılursam naẓar ey dōst
Ayīne durur aña naẓardan ne ẓar ey dōst

Ca'fer, G. 12

1. 'Aşıkları ḡo ḡüsnüñe ḡılsun naẓar ey dōst
Ayīneye billāhi naẓardan ne ẓar ey dōst

Zātī, G. 37

* * *

6. Senüñ gıbinüñ ey bülbul uçurmuşdur hezārın ol
Gül-i ra'nāya aldanma iki yüzlü münāfıḡdur

Ca'fer, G. 34

6. Gıce gündüz bir iki gün gelür yüzüñe maḡlūḡuñ
Bu dehr-i dūna aldanmañ iki yüzlü münāfıḡdur

Zātī, G. 463

(1) 'Aşık Çelebi, 230a-231a.

(2) Kaşā'id-i Türkiye, Süleymaniye Lib. Es'ad Efendi, no. 3418, ff. 160a-161a; 245b-246a; 276a-277b.

3. Göñlinde perī-ruhlaruñ ey dōst hayālūñ
Bir tūṭiye beñzer ki demürden kafesi var

Ca'fer, G. 22

3. Şol kimse ki şirīn söz ile göñlüñe girdi
Bir tūṭiye beñzer ki demürden kafesi var

Zātī, G. 396

* * *

1. Gözüm yaşına bakmazsın baña senden 'ināyet yok
Bunı bildüm ki ey meh-rū sitāremde sa'ādet yok

Ca'fer, G. 87

1. Güzeller çıkdılar seyre bile ol māh ṭal'at yok
'Aceb gün görmedük şahşam sitāremde sa'ādet yok

Zātī, G. 641

* * *

4. Hüsn ilinde fitne olduğına şāhum muttaşıl
Şāhid ol yitmez mi kim ebrūlaruñ peyvestedür

Ca'fer, G. 32

3. Ben buradan bilmişem 'āşıqları öldürdügüñ
Kaşlaruñuñ kara yāsı muttaşıl peyvestedür

Zātī, G. 439

* * *

4. Ṭomār-ı şī'rūmi n'ola elden komazsa yār
Zevki şahih olana gelür ney-şeker leziz

Ca'fer, G. 21

4. Vaşf-ı leb-i nigār ile ṭumār-ı şī'rūme
Meyl itseler 'aceb mi olur ney-şeker leziz

Zātī, G. 135

In at least one instance we can see a direct influence of Ca'fer even on Fuẓūlī, which may be evidence that his fame as a poet had spread as far as Baghdad. The poem is no. 232 in the present edition; among the beyts comparable with those of Fuẓūlī's gazel, the following are most striking:

3. Gözi nāz uyḡusından hīç uyanmağa meded yok mı
Cihānı tutdı feryādum kara baḡtum uyanmaz mı

Ca'fer, G. 232

4. Şeb-i hicrān yanar cānum töker kan çeşm-i giryānum
Uyadur ḡalkı efḡanum kara baḡtum uyanmaz mı

Fuẓūlī, G. 264

* * *

5. Nigāruñ ḡüsni devrinde yaşum kan akduḡın Ca'fer
Ta'accüb itme ırmaklar bahār olsa bulanmaz mı

Ca'fer, G. 232

5. Gül-i ruḡsāruña karşı gözümde kanlu aḡar şu
Ḥabībüm faşl-ı güldür bu aḡar şular bulanmaz mı

Fuẓūlī, G. 264

As will have been observed, all the examples given above are from poems identical in metre and rhyme with the ones offered for comparison, this being the only methodical way of contrasting the practices of the various poets concerned. But it should be remarked that such correspondences are only the immediately demonstrable evidence of an influence; and far greater than this is the entire conceptual ambience in which

the poet operated, his view of literature, his understanding of its purpose. These can be expected to pervade every aspect of his work, and are to be apprehended in the general rather than the particular.

2. His style

The conquest of Istanbul was not only the opening of a new era in Turkish history, but it was also a turning point in Divan literature. During Mehmed II's reign those shattered fragments of the Selçuk empire, the Anatolian beyliks, were finally incorporated and the political unity of the Ottoman empire was achieved.

Mehmed II wished to make Istanbul the cultural as well as the political centre of empire; and by offering attractive opportunities, in a short time he drew there many famous scholars and poets, including a considerable number of Persians. As a result of this, there was a great development in literature. Due to the influence of such men, the language of literature began to deviate from the vernacular and gave way to the synthetic poetical language. Ahmed Paşa is regarded by tezkiye writers as among the first to apply successfully this newly-created language to poetry.⁽¹⁾

One of the main characteristics of 15th century Turkish poetical language is that it maintained a balance between Turkish and the new Arabic-Persian elements. In the dīvāns of 15th century poets one can see beyts formed with purely Turkish words as well as others constructed with izafets and terkībs in Persian fashion. In this transition period Ahmed

(1) M. F. Köprülü, Ahmed Paşa, İA

Paşa, Necātī and Mesīhī tried to harmonize the foreign and native ones, and were to a great degree successful. In prose writing, also, ordinary Turkish was replaced by an idiom of greater eloquence. Ca'fer Çelebi is regarded as the initiator of this ornamental style which was to persist for centuries in official communications and in most historical writings. (1)

In Ca'fer's works the characteristic features of the Turkish of this transition period can be observed clearly. In prose writing the style he used in the Mahrūse is in sharp contrast to that which he employed in Enīsü 'l-'Arifīn. (2) In his poetry, too, we find lines consisting of Turkish words side by side with beyts which are almost entirely composed with Persian izafets employing Persian and Arabic words. The following beyts, for example, are formed almost exclusively with Turkish words:

4. Beni kırmaz ki yatub yār ışiginde ölem

Yatacak yir göreyin bulmaya düşmen ölicək

G. 115

4. Çünkü gönlün yok gönül uğırlamakdan eyleme

Çamzelerle uğrın uğrın merhabāyı kimseye

G. 194

(1) Mecdī, I, p. 336; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, Osmanlı Tarihi, III, (Ankara 1949), p. 629.

(2) See sections on Mahrūse and Enīsü 'l-'Arifīn.

5. Ca'fer nice ola diri 'ālemde kim sen dilberi
Görse sevincinden ölür görmezse hicrān öldürür

G. 60

4. Çekmişem her ne kadar varsa gam u derd ü belā
Beñzemez hiç birine sevgülü yār ayrılığı

G. 227

In the following examples, on the other hand, one can hardly find a Turkish word:

4. Baht-ı ferruḥ hem-rikāb u feth-ü-nuşret hem-'inān
Raḥş-ı devlet zīr-i rān u eblāk-ı eyyām rām

K. 14

37. Gerd-i rāhuñ tūtiyā-yı dīde-i ehl-i nazar
Sūmm-i esbūñ sürme-dān-ı sürme-i çeşm-i kibār

K. 12

2. Mūnkir-i 'ışk olsa tañ mı zāhid-i efsürde-dil
Tab'-ı nā-mevzūn ḥayāl-i şekl-i mevzūn eylemez

G. 66

Ca'fer in his poetry, alongside Turkish forms, frequently uses Persian constructions such as vaşf-ı terkībī and izāfets, employs ki for relative sentences and introduces some foreign prepositions and other Arabic elements. As we still lack a descriptive framework of 15th century poetical language, it is difficult to indicate an idiosyncratic use of any of these forms by Ca'fer Çelebi.

Ca'fer seems to have paid a great deal of attention to his style. In one gazel, he regards his lisān-ı faşih as one of the blessings given by God:

7. Añub bu ni'meti Ca'fer Hüdāya şükr eyle
Ki luṭf-ı ṭab' ile virdi saña lisān-ı faşih
G. 17

Ca'fer's technique of versification is quite sophisticated. He usually introduces into his lines common expressions, proverbs, āyets and hadīs, and even Arabic sentences. The idea is generally expressed in the first mısrā' of the beyt, with the second usually employed either to explain or to support this idea. The following beyts show him at his most characteristic:

1) In the use of proverbs:

30. Lebidür çün içen kanuñ ṭolaşma zülfine ey dil
Meşeldür çünki 'İsānuñ sorılmaz cürmi Mūsādan
K. 22
3. Dil dilerdi şala cānı zekāna düşdi özi
'Akıbet kendü düşer kim ki kaza gayra çehi
G. 220
2. Gördüm ağıyarı kenār-ı yāra cem' olmış didüm
Buldı şüret ma'ni-yi lā hayre illā fi 'l-vasat
G. 80

2) In the use of popular expressions:

21. Ki bir kül öksüzi olub düşübdür halk ocağına
Cihānda bulmayub başın sokacak bir ocağ āteş
K. 24
17. Cümle itmek ister ihsānuñ döküb encüm direm
Şubha dek budur işi her gice görmez çeşmi h^vāb
K. 23
2. Komadum kim dest-būsi yāra ire saġāruñ
Kanına girdüm tutarsa tan degül ol kan beni
G. 238
5. Boynına şalınduġınca zülfine yüz viridi dōst
Bir zamāndur şimdi Ca'fer yüz bulur küstāhlar
G. 49

3) In the use of axiomatic statements:

7. Yandum āteş-gün libāsından ben anuñ derdi yok
Gerçi od anı yakar kim ol ola aña mümāss
G. 73
2. Sūzum artar bu ne hikmet göricek 'ārızını
Ab hod kanda ise āteşi teskīn ider
G. 51
2. Hüsnüñe maġrūr olub 'uşşākı iñletme igen
Kim zamān-ı gül bulur az müddet içre inkirāz
G. 79

4) In the use of fanciful explanation (hüsn-i ta'lîl):

3. Lâle yâr adına konmuş dâğıdur bâğuñ ki bād
Bendin açarken kanatmışdır bulaşmış kan aña
G. 38

4. Şühüb şeklinde âteşler degüldür saçılan dehre
İzi tozına ol mâhuñ melekler zer nişār eyler
G. 38

5) In the use of poetic parallelism (leff-ü-neşr):

4. Girye kılmaz şeb-i vuşlatda ruhuñ karşısına
Tıfl-ı eşkini gözüm tâb-ı kamerden şakınub
G. 10

2. Ağzuñ dişuñ nümünesidür gonca jâleden
Yâkût hokka içre ki dürr-i 'Aden tutar
G. 42

6) In the use of similes:

2. Çeşmümde hayâli lebüñüñ bir nefes ârām
İtmez şanasın şuya düşübdür şeker ey dōst
G. 12

5. İşigin kim bekleyüb yatur güzeller dilberüñ
Şan melâ'ik Ca'ferâ 'arş âsitânın yaşıdanur
G. 35

6. Lebi-yle dişleri nazmı bu serv-i lâle-ruhuñ
Dehân-i goncada güyâ ki 'ıkd-ı şebnemdür
G. 47

7) In the statement and reply constructions:

3. İre mi vaşla düşen firqate didüm didi kim
Genc-ü-ni 'met bula her kim ki çeke miñnet-ü-renc
G. 15

8) In the conjunctive use of "ki":

1. Hâtuñ kitāb-ı ruḥuñdan çıkardı naql-i şaḥīḥ
Ki ğamzeñ itdügidür baña cümle zılm-ı şarīḥ
G. 17
7. Tīğ-i ḥūn-rīzūñ beni her dem şu deñlü pāreler
K'acıyub kan ağılar ey dilber benüm-çün yāreler
G. 31

9) In the use of the imperative:

3. Hāk ol hevā yolında dilerseñ ger āb-ı rū
Koma tarīk-i 'ışkı budur mezheb-i eşaḥḥ
G. 17
1. Her ne dil k'anuñ dimāğında şaçuñ sevdası var
Aña raḥm it kim başında 'ālemüñ ğavğası var
G. 37

10) In playing with words:

1. Bir serv ki yok mişli gülistānlar içinde
Yir itdi elif gibi girüb cānlar içinde
G. 170

5. Kāmetüñe benzedügi-çün elif ey nūr-ı 'ayn
Tende cānı cān içinde şaklaram anı dūrüst

G. 13

44. Hey ne cevherdür sözüñ gevherleri kim anlara
Kıymeti dürr-i şemīnūñ olmaya şümn-i şemen

K. 11

56. Tā gelüb Nevruz-ı sultānī ide feth-i bahār
Kesr olub kalb-i şitāda leşker-i sermā yine

K. 10

5. Halkasından zülfüñüñ kim nūr-ı hüsñüñ berķ urur
Kalb-i 'akrebdan tulū' itmiş şanasın māhdur

G. 43

In Ca'fer's poetry a complete thought is generally expressed within one beyt; however, there are some beyts in which both mısrā' have a separate meaning. On the other hand, and particularly in the kaşīdes, he may extend an idea over two beyts:

70. Sāl-i güzeştede giceler māhitābdan
Gül reng-ü-bū uğurlayub olmuş idi nihān

71. Buldı bu yıl bahār anı gülşende bend idüb
Zindān-ı gonçaya ķodı habs itdi bir zamān

K. 5

It is evident from his poetry that Ca'fer had no difficulty in giving expression to his thought. What he did find difficult

was the creation of new ideas and images, and it is probably due to this that he tends from time to time to repeat himself:

12. 'Ahd-i 'adlũñde ħarāma kılmamağ-ıçũn nazār
Gözlerin yumar şarāb üstine geldükçe ħabāb
K. 23

17.c. Şöyle itmişken cihānı 'ask-i Şāh-ı kāmıyāb
Kim gözin yumar şarāb üstine geldükçe ħabāb
32

* * *

44. Elinde tās gedālar gibi turur yolda
Diler ki Ĥusrev-i āfākı ide cer lāle
K. 27

40. Getürüb kāsesein a'mā gibi yol üzre kōmış
K'uğradukça Şeh-i āfākı ide cer nergis
K. 28

* * *

50. Senũñ gibi daħı bir ħũb-rũ pũser gelmez
Gũl-i ter olsa eger māder ü peder lāle
K. 27

56. Bir ela gözlü güler yüzlü pũser sencileyin
Gelmeğe ger peder ola gül ü māder nergis
K. 28

Wholly characteristic of the poetical production of its period, the Dīvān of Ca'fer Çelebi is of interest as a specimen of the literature which the Ottomans were slowly creating for themselves out of the precedents offered by Persia. In it we

can see the language used with a strict grammatical rigour, with the introduction of vernacular elements giving it that particular Turkish tone which, apart from all else, instantly marks this poetry off from that of its foreign model. One can observe the strict attention paid to the formal requirements of metre and rhyme which were to shackle Ottoman poetry throughout all its subsequent developments; and with these came a fund of imported imagery which in some measure defined and limited the content of poetic expression. It is through such poets as Ca'fer Çelebi that we can reach a proper appreciation of such masters as Necātī and Ahmed Paşa, for by their very efforts at imitation they provide the background from which the individuality of the latter can emerge.

3. Metre, rhyme, assonance and alliteration.

Ottoman Divan poetry, in faithful adherence to its Persian models, was conceived above all as expression in rhymed and metrical language, limiting itself, also, to a restricted range of forms, themes and attitudes. The relation between form and theme, as for example in the gazel, the kaşide, and the meşnevî, was strictly observed, each being held appropriate for a particular type of utterance or narration, the choice of metre being the only feature left to the discretion of the poet.⁽¹⁾

Certain licenses were available to introduce variety into the monotonous rhythmical structure of a poem: the caesura (sometimes including an internal rhyme); the sekt-i melîh (the spondaic reduction of two short syllables to one long); zihāf and imāle (a lengthening or shortening of the vowels in certain words). With the exception of the first, these licenses were used sparingly, the sekt-i melîh almost only in the H5 metre, and zihāf and imāle most usually in Turkish words.

The metres most commonly used by Ottoman Divan poets have been tabulated by Faiza Shafie in her study of the Ġazeliyāt of Nābī,⁽²⁾ where it is shown that the baḥr-ı remel

(1) Gibb (HOP, I, pp. 107-110) gives a list of 'aruḡ patterns and mentions for what kind of poems each was commonly used.

(2) Faiza Fuad el-Shafie, The Ġazeliyāt of the 17th Century Ottoman Poet Nābī, (PhD. Edinburgh 1969), p. 267.

(R1 and R2), the baħr-ı muẓāri' (M1), and the baħr-ı hezec (H1, H2, H3) account for most of the verses of authors whose Dīvāns were analyzed. In this respect, the Dīvān of Ca'fer Çelebi may be regarded as typical, the distribution of the metres being as follows:

	<u>Ġazels</u>	<u>Kaşıdes etc.</u>
R1	115	19
R2	51	3
M1	24	5
M2	3	-
H1	24	2
H2	13	2
H3	9	3
H5	-	1
Müc. 1	10	4
Ĥaf.	3	2
Recez	3	-

Even by the time of Ca'fer Çelebi, the Ottoman poet was still experiencing difficulty in adopting these metres to the Turkish language, which, of course, has no original long vowels; and as a consequence of this the foreign vocabulary of Persian and Arabic was used extensively to give structure to the verse. As an example of the confusion that could result when Turkish words predominate, the following beyt, in R1, by Ca'fer Çelebi, in which only two foreign words occur, may be cited:

6. Ağlayayın şol kađar kim görmez olsun gözlerüm
Görmez olayın gülüb oynadıĥın aĥyār ile

Again in this beyt (Rec. 1) most of the Turkish words are distorted from their natural pronunciation:

5. Ca'fer nice ola diri 'ālemde kim sen dilberi
Görse sevincinden ölür görmezse hicrān öldürür

G. 60

However, in certain instances it would seem that this treatment of Turkish vowels has a deliberate purpose, as in the beyt (Müc. 1) where the maḥlaṣ is given prominence by having its accusative ending lengthened:

5. Günāhı yok dimegil Ca'feri gel öldür kim
Degül durur seni çok sevmek az günāh baña

G. 3

In the following (R1), the lengthening of "ne" lends a colloquial emphasis to kara günler gelürse gelsün:

2. Ne kara günler gelürse gelsün ey mah başuma
Gitsün ol gün gelmesün kim ben olam senden cüdā

G. 8

As compared with his contemporaries, Ca'fer can be regarded as most competent in his handling of the 'aruḡ' metres, very rarely an unintentional false quantity being found in his versification.

The other inseparable quality of verse, rhyme (kāfiye), shows no particularities in Ca'fer's Dīvān which would differentiate

it from the common practice of the age. Like most of his contemporaries he favours redīfs⁽¹⁾ of pronounced length in both the kaşīdes and the gazels, by which a certain unity is given to the various beyts of the poem. To apply these redīfs effortlessly in a variety of meanings throughout one poem seems to have been regarded as a mark of the poet's talent, and thus we find even long kaşīdes committed to imageries constructed upon such words as benefşe, lāle, kerem etc. The demands of the kaşīde (terci's, kıt'as etc), however, often forced the poet into single rhymes, and thus out of 28 poems of this class, only 13 bear redīfs. However, in the gazels, we find that 222 out of a total of 255 end in redīfs of varying lengths.

Although it was regarded as a fault to repeat the same rhyme in the short poems, on no less than 47 occasions do we find this in Ca'fer's gazels. Greater latitude is allowed in the kaşīde, and of this, too, he avails himself freely. Thus, in the lāle kaşīdesi, which is rhymed in -er lāle, the following words are found repeated: meger, güher, hacer (twice), seher, her, eser, ger, eger, ferr, -ver (three times), ser, ter (four times).

(1) By the term redīf as used here should be understood all syllables subsequent to the rhyme vowel: thus -ānı dūrüst is regarded as rhyming in ā with -nı dūrüst as an invariable annex throughout the poem. The classical theory of Persian prosody cannot be conveniently applied to Ottoman poetry.

In those metres which admit of a caesural pause (eg. HL) we occasionally find beyts with an internal rhyme:

5. Turursa serv-i bālādur otursa verd-i ra'nādur
Güzel oldur ki tūrdūğı oturduğı yaraşıkdur

G. 34

7. Tolaşmış zūlfüñe Ca'fer perīşān olma ey dilber
Aña toğrı yolu göster varubdur çünki rāh egri

G. 242

Gazel no. 165 (HL) maintains this internal rhyme throughout, and presents the appearance of a musammat.

Moreover, throughout his Dīvān, we come across the cināslı kāfiye and iltizām kāfiye which were regarded as rhetorical embellishments. In the following examples cinās-ı tām involves:

1. Zūlfi gibi benden ki yüzün dōst çevürdi
Ġam Ġamzesi gibi cigerüm şişe çevürdi

G. 208

1. Kadd-i dil-cūy ile k'ol serv-i revān olsa gerek
Şu gibi cānlar ayagına revān olsa gerek

G. 95

1. Zūlfini ruġları üstinde çü pūr-çīn eyler
Ol büt-i Çīn ü Haṭā Rūm ilini Çīn eyler

G. 51

In the next examples revī, tevcīh (kayd), dahil and te'sīs are the same. Therefore an iltizām kāfiye involves:

1. Manzûrî dîdemüñ kaçan ol mâhitâb olur
Burc-ı şerefde zerrelerüm âfitâb olur

G. 27

1. Anda ki Hâk güzellere kâmet virüb durur
Kâmet yirine saña kıyâmet virüb durur

G. 39

1. Tutuşdum 'ışk ile bir nâ-tüvânam
Eger cân kurtarursam pehlüvânam

G. 137

Although "graphic rhyme" (between words differing in pronunciation which appeared identical in the Arabic script) was allowable in Divan poetry, Ca'fer Çelebi only rarely avails himself of this license. (1)

The sound of the beyt when spoken or sung was frequently present in the mind of the poet in his composition, and to this end he employed vocabulary in its assonantal values as well as for meaning. Examples of such deliberate choice of words abound in the Dîvân of Ca'fer Çelebi, certain of whose beyts exhibit an almost musical construction:

1. Şunda bunda açılurmuş oñmasun gül bitmesün
Güş-ı yâra öykünürmiş kimseler işitmesün

G. 163

(1) See for some examples: G. 11/1; G. 29/3,7; G. 61/4; G. 75/2; K. 4/25 and K. 14/22.

1. Yā Rab olsun kevser ü hūrī müyesser zāhide
Kim bize teslīm idüb bakmaz şarāb u şāhide
G. 174
1. Beni öldürdi cevri ile seversin diyü bir bed-hū
Seversem kāfir olmadum müselmānlar ne işdür bu
G. 168
7. Cevāhir toldurub her dem felek fīrūze-gün cāma
Diler kim hāk-i rāhına ide yārūn nişār andan
G. 161
5. İnleyü inleyü bostān-ı sarāyuñ dün-ü-gün
Döne döne şularam eşk ile dolāb gibi
G. 215
2. Dilüñ ey dōst bülbüldür leṭāfetde yüzüñ güldür
Ṭap aḡlatduñ bizi güldür ki gitdük üşde şehrüñden
G. 165
1. Gül ki resm eyledi zer levḫa yine sīnesine
Düşdi 'aksi ruḫumuñ şan yüzüñ āyīnesine
G. .72
4. Gerçek imiş bu ısuз yirlerde olurmuş perī
Yārdan ḡayrı diyār-ı dilde gör deyyār yok
G. 92

These random examples demonstrate no systematic principle of vowel-consonant relation, for indeed such an analysis of the poetic line never entered into the consciousness of the poet. But it is undeniable that the effect of the line on the ear

was in each a deliberate artistic consideration, and that in each the banality of the meaning is redeemed by its musical impact.

That certain of Ca'fer's pieces were actually intended to be sung - or at least composed in the form of a song - is beyond doubt. The musammat differs not at all from the şarkī, except that it is addressed to a rather more cultured audience; and the murabbā's which are to be found in Ca'fer's Dīvān could have each provided the güfte for a musical rendition. In tone, too, they are frivolous and light-hearted, and in one instance (no.123) there is a rather shocking indelicacy to be found, which nevertheless might have been found amusing by the circles in which it would be sung.

The choice of words is often determined by their familiar use in the vernacular language. In a beyt such as:

2. Ne kara günler gelürse gelsün ey meh başuma
Gitsün ol gün gelmesün kim ben olam senden cüdā

G. 8

the use of gel- and git- can be immediately identified even today as belonging to popular speech. Many more such examples could be shown, allowing the general impression that such hearkening to the common language of every day was inseparable from the art of the Ottoman poet.

D. THE DĪVĀN OF CA'FER ÇELEBI

1. The manuscripts, the şecere of the manuscripts and their contents

Only eight copies of Ca'fer Çelebi's Dīvān have been located, of which six were used for the critical edition presented in this thesis. Seven of these eight manuscripts have been either catalogued or referred to by other scholars, only HE remaining hitherto unknown. The location of the copies of the Dīvān is as follows:

1) JR⁽¹⁾: John Rylands Library, Manchester, Turkish Ms. no. 62. An elegantly written manuscript of 534 ff., containing the dīvāns of fourteen poets of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Dīvān of Ca'fer Çelebi is between folios 326b and 430a.

534 ff., 20.5 cms x 10.5 cms (18.8 cms x 915 cms; inner area: 13.5 cms x 6.5 cms); 17 lines; thin glazed cream paper; double margins in gold; ornamental headings; small nesta'lik of high calligraphic standard; leather binding with lisān; without date or name of scribe; 17th century.

There is an illuminated fihrist on 1b-2a of the poets represented in the work. On several pages throughout the work

(1) The description of the Dīvān is taken from an unpublished Catalogue of Turkish Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, compiled by J. R. Walsh.

there is the seal of one owner Fethī-zāde Bende Mehmed, who, in a note on the first fly-leaf, calls himself Mehmed Ağa and gives the price of the work as 30 esedī kuruş. The names of two other owners are on the same page: Dervīş Hūlvī el-Hūlvetī, known as Helvācī-başı-zāde, and 'Abdūlhayy Muştafā.

Contents: na't in form of tercī'-i bend (326b-330a); 22 kaşīdes (330a-374a); 2 tercī'-i bends (331a-334a and 371b-374a); one müseddes (349a-351a); 7 kıt'as (374a-377a and 430a); 242 gazels (377b-430a) including in the sequence 7 murabba's (398a-b, 402a-b, 402b-403a, 405a, 405b, 407b and 414b).

2) K: Dārū 'l-Kütübi 'l-Mısrī, no. 8796

'Ali Efendi Hilmi Dağistānī, Fihristü 'l-Kütübi 't-Türkiyeti fī 'l-Kütübhaneti 'l-Hidviyeti 'l-Mısrīye, Mısr 1306, p. 153.

This is also a collection of Dīvāns of fifteenth and sixteenth century poets. Ca'fer's Dīvān is to be found between the folios 265b and 349b.

Contents: na't in form of tercī'-i bend (265b-268a); 25 kaşīdes (268a-311a); 2 tercī'-i bends (269b-271b and 308b-310b), and a müseddes (286a-288a); 7 kıt'as (310b-313a); 207 gazels (313a-349b) including in the sequence 7 murabba's (329b, 332b, 333a, 335a, 335b, 336a and 342b).

3) BN: Bibliothèque Nationale no. 576. E. Blochet, Catalogue des manuscrits Turcs, vol. II, (Paris 1933), p. 1.

Contents: na't in form of tercī'-i bend (1b-5a); 27 kaşīdes (5b-59a and 63a-70b); 2 tercī'-i bends (43a-45a and 66a-69b); 10 kıt'as (59a-63a); 223 gazels (72b-125b) including in the sequence 4 murabba's (97a, 101b, 102a, and 114a).

4) HE: Halet Efendi (Süleymaniye Library) no. 148

129 ff., 21cms x 12.5 cms; 15 lines; thick glazed cream paper; margin in gold; vocalised nesih; leather binding; without date or name of scribe - probably 17th century.

On folio 1a there are to be found the title of the work, Dīvān-ı Ca'fer; the name of two owners, Muṣṭafā Dede Mevlevī and Esrār Mehmed (d. 1796); an erased record which ascribes the Dīvān to Ca'fer Dede Mevlevī and the dates of 1196 and 1197. On folio 2a there is the endowment seal of the Mevlevihāne of Galata. On folio 45a there is a note which says "Ca'fer Dede kuddise sirruhu ḥaẓretlerinin maḳbūl-ı merdān olan ḡazelleridür". The work is divided into two sections: the first section begins with the title Müntehab-ı Dīvān-ı Ca'fer (the word Çelebi has been erased), 1b; the second section bears the title of Dīvān-ı ḡānī fī kaṣā'id li-Ca'fer Dede, 71a.

Contents: na't in form of tercī'-i bend (1b-5a); 26 kaşīdes (5b-9a and 77b-122b); one tercī'-i bend (9b-12b); 7 kıt'as (122b-126a); 221 gazels (13a-63a) including in the sequence 7 murabba's (28a, 29b, 32b, 51b, 52a, 52b and 53a); Arabic poems (71b-74a and 126b-127a); Persian poems (74a-77b and 127a-128b).

5) AS: Ayasofya Library, no. 3888

126 ff., 24.5cms x 15.5cms; inner area 15cms x 9cms; 15 lines; thick glazed paper; ta'lik of high calligraphic standard; leather binding; without date or name of scribe; 17th century. On the first page there is the seal of endowment of 'Osmān III.

Contents: na't in form of tercī'-i bend (1b-5b); 26 kaşides (12b-60b); one tercī'-i bend (61a-64a); 10 kıt'as (64b-68b); 217 gazels (71b-126a) including in the sequence 6 murabba's (86b, 88a, 91b, 110a, 110b and 111b); Arabic poems (5b-9a); Persian poems (9a-12 and 69a-70b).

6) M: Staatsbibliothek, Marburg. Msb Or. Oct. 2705. Manfred Götz, Türkische Handschriften, Teil II, Wiesbaden 1968, p. 234.

Contents: na't in form of tercī'-i bend (1b-4b); Turkish kaşides (15a-34b); 10 kıt'as (34b-39b); Arabic poems (5a-3b); Persian poems (8b-14b).

7) NO: Nuruosmaniye Library no. 3811. İKTYDK, I, p. 91.

Contents: na't in form of tercī'-i bend (1b-5b); 26 kaşides (12b-60b); one tercī'-i bend (60b-64a); 10 kıt'as (64a-70b); 104 gazels (71a-96a) including in the sequence 2 murabba's (86a and 87b); Arabic poems (5b-9a); Persian poems (9a-12a and 69a-70b).

8) BM: British Museum Or. 7136. The Unpublished Supplement to Turkish Mss., p. 37

Contents: 146 gazels (3b-33a) including in the sequence 3 murabba's (19a, 20b and 24b); Arabic poems (1b-2a); Persian poems (2a-3a).

None of these manuscripts can be regarded as deriving directly from the autograph, and two dominant lines of transmission can be observed, represented by JR-K-BN and HE-AŞ-NO-M-BM, and JR and K are in fact identical and no doubt the product of the same copyist. According to the table of contents on f. 1a, K originally contained the Dīvāns of the same poets, but unfortunately half of the manuscripts has not survived and at present we have only the Dīvāns of Necātī, Ahmed Paşa, Mesîhî and Ca'fer Çelebi. The end of Ca'fer 's Dīvān, too, is missing, lacking 32 of the yā ġazels. With few exceptions, the sequence of ġazels is the same as in JR, but the 4 kaşîdes which are omitted in the latter are included. As can be seen from critical apparatus, only in a few places do the texts of JR and K differ from each other. It is certain that both manuscripts were copied by the same scribe from the same original.

Although BN differs in sequence of ġazels from JR and K, in essence, it would appear to represent the same tradition, derived from an intermediate manuscript between it and the common example. In many cases it is evident that BN attempts to clarify the text by substituting words which must have been more familiar to the copyist.

HE, both in content and variants departs from the JR-K-BN group, its text corresponding very closely with that of NO, and especially with that of AŞ, without repeating their mistakes in spelling. It is very likely that HE, AŞ and NO are copied from the same exemplar. The places in which AŞ and NO display

peculiar variants against HE can be explained either by the carelessness of the scribe of AS and NO, or by the fact that HE's scribe used two examples simultaneously. In the process of copying, the simultaneous use of two manuscripts as exemplars is considered to be very unlikely,⁽¹⁾ and one must therefore conclude that the differences between AS-NO and HE are due to carelessness on the part of the copyist.

The close relationship between AS and NO is shown particularly in their sharing of certain obvious and trivial errors and lacunae, there being a total correspondence in respect of the latter. The fact that NO lacks some of the gazels in AS can be explained by studying the order of these poems in both manuscripts, from which it can be seen that the copyist of NO contented himself with transcribing only the gazels in the normal dīvān order, and omitted the miscellaneous ones which AS placed at the end of the gazel section. Consequently, NO has been eliminated from the critical apparatus.

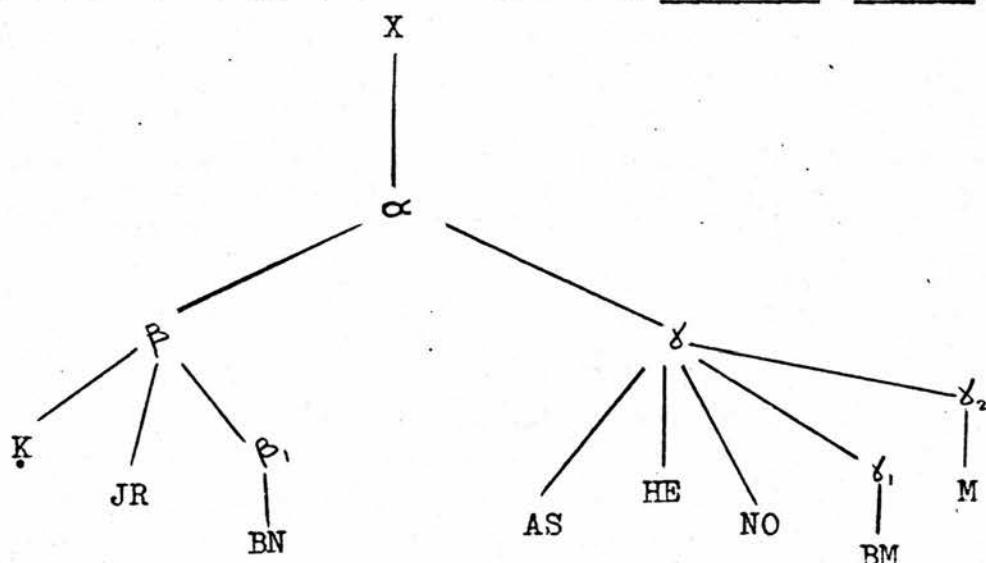
The fact that AS-NO-HE have peculiar errors in common against all the manuscripts in the first group and that, in addition, AS-NO and HE show peculiar errors of their own would indicate that these three manuscripts derive from a common exemplar differing from the one from which the manuscripts in the first group derive.

(1) Paul Maas, Textual Criticism, trans. Barbara Flower (London 1953), p. 8.

BM, which includes only 142 gazels and a few Persian and Arabic poems, is more carelessly written and very defective. It shows some similarities with the AS-NO-HE group in variations and in its sequence of gazels. In the present study, BM is not used for the critical edition, although it was consulted at times.

M contains only kasīdes and, in so far as content and variations are concerned, seems to be much closer to the second group than the first. M is used in the present edition.

The evidence suggests the following stemmata (secere):



The main features of the two groups, apart from those mentioned above, are as follows: the dīvāns in the first group are conventionally organised, and do not include Arabic or Persian poems; the dīvāns in the second group depart from the usual ordering of materials and, with the exception of BM, (which includes only gazels and a few Arabic and Persian poems), all of them include a number of Arabic and Persian poems.

The text here edited is substantially based on JR, the readings of which were altered only when the sense seemed to demand it. For the four kaşides which do not appear in JR, K was used, controlled by the other manuscripts.

The edition of Ca'fer Çelebi's Dīvān presented here consists of: 28 Turkish kaşides, 255 Turkish gazels, including 7 murabba's in sequence, 3 Turkish tercī'-i bends, 10 Turkish kıt'as, 4 Arabic kaşides, 1 Arabic müstezāt, 1 Arabic gazel, 2 Persian kāşides, 1 Persian taḥmīs, 2 Persian gazels and 1 Persian murabba'.

In his Turkish kaşides, Ca'fer Çelebi clearly exhibits the influence of Ahmed Paşa, who is rightly regarded as the chief exponent and indeed the prime innovator of this form in Ottoman literature. With the exception of two pieces addressed to his beloved, all the rest of the kaşides are dedicated to the usual recipients of such panegyrics, and notably Sultān Bāyezīd. Four were written for Sultān Selīm, three for the vizier 'Ali Paşa, one for Şehzāde Ahmed and two for a certain sūfī. Prominent in his kaşides to Sultān Bāyezīd, is the extent to which he dwells on the piety and religiousity of the Sultān, who alone enjoys the laḳab Velī among all the other members of the dynasty.

Formally, the kaşides contain the conventional nesīb, gürizgāh, mediḥ, fahriye, taleb and du'a - only the two addressed to the sūfī, the two addressed to 'Ali Paşa and one written for his beloved, departing from this pattern. The kaşide

to 'Ali Paşa which is found in the Enīsü 'l-'Arifīn seems to be incomplete in that it commences with the medhiye, omitting introductory sections.

In connecting the theme of the kaşide to the praises of the person to whom it is addressed, Ca'fer shows a pleasing ingenuity, the gürizgāh often linking naturally the nesīb and the medhiye. For example, in that dedicated to Sultān Selīm (no. 29), he anticipates the medhiye by introducing the rhyme-word selīm in its proper sense in the beyt preceeding the gürizgāh, and repeats it as a proper noun in the succeeding:

9. Goncanuñ metninde mużmerken deķā'ik mücmeli
Gül anı tafşıl ile şerh itdi zī ṭab'-ı selīm
10. Güllerüñ kılmış mu'aṭṭar micmerin gülşende bād
Meclis-i Şehzādeye beñzer buḥūr eyler nesīm
11. Māh-ı burc-ı salṭanat ḥurşid-i evc-i ma'delet
Ḥusrev-i Cemşid-ferr Şāh-ı cihān Sultān Selīm

The 26th kaşide is especially noteworthy both for its theme and for its gürizgāh. For the nesīb, Ca'fer chose a more serious subject than usual, employing religious motifs. Explaining the theory of devr, he argues to the conclusion that this world and all it contains is but transitory and one should therefore prepare oneself for the next world:

78. Kamusı gitdi ögümden ḥayālūme gelmez
Ne lāle-zār u ne şahrā ne bāğ u ne bostān

79. Ne kesb-i māl ũ menāl ũ ne hırş-ı manşıb-u-cāh
Ne fikr-i bāğ u ne tertīb-i hāne-vü-eyvān
80. Nezār şükr ki geldi ferāğat-ı küllī
Gözüme çöpce görünmez bu kār-u-bār-ı cihān

Although he himself is willing to give up all earthly pleasures, still he cannot renounce poetry, for this is his vehicle for praising the Sultān. Thus, the gürizgāh:

81. Ṭarīk-i nazma da hergiz sülūk itmez idüm
Sebeb degülmise medh-ü-du'ā-yı şāh-ı cihān

Although it was not the usual practice to introduce gazels into the kaşīdes, Ca'fer Çelebi almost always inserts one. These gazels are usually addressed to a beloved and have no connection with the theme of the kaşīde.

Ca'fer Çelebi's gazels, as far as form is concerned, do not show any particular difference from the conventional. In length they vary from 5 to 12 beyts. He generally mentions his name, as a maḥlaş, in the last beyt, although in some instances this can be found in the penultimate. (See G. 3, 141, 153, 161)

The subject matter of the gazels is generally profane love, only one treating of mystical ideas (G. 214). Like most gazels, there is no unity of theme, but Ca'fer sometimes, through the use of a redif, maintains a single idea throughout.

Those features which were remarked on above as distinguishing Ca'fer's style, are most strikingly displayed in his gazels, where he can be witty, colloquial and pithy to an extent

not allowed by the more formal kaşides. From within the constricting limitations imposed on the writer by the conventions of this poetry, it can be seen that Ca'fer does emerge as a distinct literary personality and is not the mere stereotype that so many of his peers were to become.

In his four Arabic kaşides - one of which is a nazire to Mütenebbî - Ca'fer displays his competence in this language, but as to their literary quality one would hesitate to pass judgement. The impression given is of Ottoman verse in translation, and to any Arab they would seem unfamiliar and probably be regarded as foreign to their literary experience. His contemporaries, in fact, did not regard his abilities in Arabic composition to be equal to those of his brother, and it is to be remarked that during his period as nişāncı, on one occasion when a letter had to be sent to the Sultān of Egypt, Mü'eyyed-zāde was commissioned to do the drafting. (1)

In his Persian kaşides, however, he shows a greater assurance - no doubt due to the close connection of that language to his customary Ottoman - and indeed the nazire to Selmān Sāvecī addressed to Sultān Selīm on his accession is of a particular elegance and loveliness. In general, it may be said that such ventures by Ottoman poets outside their own idiom are rarely of a quality to command admiration, and resemble the

(1) G. Vajda, 'Un Bulletin de Victoire de Bajazet II', Journal Asiatique, CCXXXVI (Paris 1943), pp. 87-102.

gradus ad parnassum exercises of classical studies in Europe.

This may be best observed in the taḥmīs which he wrote to a gazel by Hāfız, where the contrast between the imitator and the master is all too apparent. Of Ca'fer's use of this language, Mū'eyyed-zāde is said to have remarked that it was "Ankara Persian". (1)

(1) 'Aşık Çelebi, 61b

2. The system of editing

The system of transcription used for this edition is that proposed in the Türk İlmî Transkripsiyon Kılavuzu (Istanbul 1946), which is the basis for that used in the İA, and has been followed by such scholars in this field as Ali Nihad Tarlan, Faruk K. Timurtaş, etc. The pronunciation of words is given in the archaic form, even when the spelling does not demand it. Thus, eksük and not eksik, yir and not yer, etc. When there is no choice to be made in this respect, the pronunciation (but not the transcription) of the Redhouse Yeni Türkçe-İngilizce Sözlük (Istanbul 1963) has been followed.

The vowel of the iẓāfet is expressed either as a back or front high unrounded vowel (ı, i), and in general the choice is determined by the nature of the suffix which the word would take in its Turkish accidence. The iẓāfet after long ī is shown with a palatal glide: thus, ma'nī-yi ṣaḥīḥ, and not ma'nī-i ṣaḥīḥ.

The conjunction vāv is made to follow vowel harmony in respect to back or front articulation, influenced by the terminal vowel of the preceeding word: thus, zemin-ü-zamān, āb-u-havā.

The Turkish ile is not regarded as being a developed suffix at this period, and thus even in the combined form it retains its front vowels: thus da'vāsı-yle, hūbları-yle. However, when it is to be read without its first syllable, it

is treated as a suffix, and made to follow harmony: thus, belālarla, hūblarla.

Information about the sources and the presentation of each poem therein is given in the upper right-hand corner of the page. With respect to the gazels, the number in parenthesis after the folio location indicates the position this poem occupies in the sequence of the other poems in this rhyme-letter. Thus, an entry such as: JR, 420b (6), BN, 116b (10), etc, indicates that this gazel is the sixth in this rhyme-letter in the JR manuscript, whereas it is the tenth in the BN manuscript. In the HE and AŞ manuscripts, the sequence is sometimes random, and in these cases the folio number is underscored and no indication of sequence is given. When a gazel is to be found also in the Heves-nāme, the reference is to the Bibliothèque Nationale manuscript of that work.

In the upper left-hand corner of the page, the metre, rhyme and redīf are shown according to the system already described. Thus, the symbol: M1: -ān daḥi: --- is to show that the poem is in this form of the muḏāri' metre, and that its rhyme mīṣrā's are of the length of fā'ilūn. When the sequence of beyts varies in the gazels, this is shown below the metre symbol with reference to the organization presented in the text. Thus, K: 1-2-4-5-3-6-7 should be taken to indicate that the numbered beyts in the text below are in this order in the Cairo manuscript.

To the extent possible, an effort was made to present the kaśīdes in a chronological order. In the BN manuscript these were provided with headings by the copyist and collected according to the individual to whom the poem was addressed. Because it seemed preferable to arrange these kaśīdes chronologically, these headings have been omitted here, for in any case the person to whom the poem was presented will be clear from the medhīye section.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manuscripts

- Anonymous Vekāyi'-i Sultān Bāyezīd ve Selīm Hān, Topkapı Palace Library, Emanet Hazinesi no. 1416, Istanbul
- 'Alī Muṣṭafā Kūnhü 'l-Aḥbār, University Library TY 2290, Istanbul
- Beyānī Tezkiretü 'ş-Şu'arā, Millet Library no 757, Istanbul
- Cāmi'ü 'n-Nezā'ir University Library TY 2955, Istanbul
- Celāl-zāde Muṣṭafā Çelebi, Me'āşir-i Selīm Hān, British Museum Add. 7848, London
- Çerkesler Kâtibi Yusuf Efendi, Tarih-i Sultān Selīm, Süleymaniye Library, Es'ad Efendi no. 2146, Istanbul
- Edirneli Naẓmī Cāmi'ü 'n-Nezā'ir, Nuruosmaniye Library no. 4915, Istanbul
- Eğridirli Hacı Kemāl, Cāmi'ü 'n-Nezā'ir, Bayezid Library no. 5732, Istanbul
- Hadīdī Tevarīḥ-i Al-i 'Osmān, British Museum Or. 12 396, London
- Hüseyn Hüsameddīn, Nişāncılar Duracı .

- İdris Bidlisî Selīm-nāme, British Museum Add. 24 969,
London
- Ḳaf-zāde Fā'izî Zübdetü 'l-Eş'ār, Süleymaniye Library,
Şehid Ali Paşa no. 1877, Istanbul
- Kātib Çelebi Süllemü 'l-Vüṣûl, Süleymaniye Library,
Şehid Ali Paşa no.1887, Istanbul
- Ḳınalı-zāde Hasan Çelebi, Tezkire-i Şu'arā, British Museum
Add. 24 957, London
- Mecmū'atü 'n-Nezā'ir, Süleymaniye Library, Hasan Hüsnü Paşa
no. 1031, Istanbul
- Mecmū'atü 'n-Nezā'ir, Ali Emiri Library, Manzum Eserler no. 674,
Istanbul
- Mecmū'atü 'n-Nezā'ir, University Library TY.1547, Istanbul
- Mecmū'atü 'n-Nezā'ir, Topkapı Palace Library, Revan no. 1972,
Istanbul
- Mecmū'atü 'n-Nezā'ir, Süleymaniye Library, Es'ad Efendi no.
3418, Istanbul
- Mecmū'a-yı Şu'arā-yı Ḳadīm, University Library TY.752, Istanbul
- 'Osmān Fevzî Olcay, Amasya Meşāhīri, University Library,
TY. 938, Istanbul
- Pervāne Bey Mecmū'a, Topkapı Palace Library, Bağdad no.
406, Istanbul

Riyāzī Mehmed b. Muştafā, Riyāzu 'ş-Şu'arā, Nuruosmaniye

Library no. 3724, Istanbul

Rūhī

Tevārīḫ-i Āl-i 'Osmān, Bodleian Library,

Marsh 313, Oxford

Şa'ban Şifā'ī

Fezā'il-i Āl-i 'Osmān, Nuruosmaniye Library

no. 3404, Istanbul

Şükri-i Bidlisī

Selīm-nāme, British Museum Or. 1039, London

Tācī-zāde Ca'fer Çelebi, Dīvān, John Rylands Library, Turkish

Mss. no. 62, Manchester

Dīvān, Dārü 'l-Kütübi 'l-Mısrī, no. 8796,

Cairo

Dīvān, Bibliothèque Nationale no. 576, Paris

Dīvān, Süleymaniye Library Halet Efendi

no. 148, Istanbul

Dīvān, Ayasofya Library no. 3883, Istanbul

Dīvān, Staatsbibliothek, Marburg, Ms. Or.

Oct. 2705

Dīvān, Nuruosmaniye Library no. 3811, Istanbul

Dīvān, British Museum Or. 7136, London

Heves-nāme, Bibliothèque Nationale A. F. 300,

Paris

Tācī-zāde Ca'fer Çelebi, Enīsü 'l-'Arifīn, British Museum

Or. 3016 and 8995, London

Maḥrūse-i İstanbul Feth-nāmesi, University

Library TY. 2634, Istanbul

Tācī-zāde Sa'dī Çelebi, Sa'dī Çelebi Mecmū'ası, Beyazıd Library,

Veliiüddin Efendi no. 3253, Istanbul

2. Archival Materials

Defter-i Müsveddāt-ı İn'āmāt ve Taşaddukāt ve Teşrīfāt ve

İrsāliyat ve ğayrihi, Belediye Library,

Muallim Cevdet Mss. 0.71 Istanbul

Edirne Vakıf Tahrır Defteri, Başvekalet Archives, no. 1070,

Istanbul

Fermān

Başvekalet Archives, Ali Emiri Tasnifi no. 32

(Mehmed II's reign) Istanbul

Sūret-i Vakfiye-i Muṣtafā Paşa der Üsküb, Topkapı Palace Archives

E, 7024, Istanbul

Tapu Tahrır Defteri, Başvekalet Archives, no. 15, 19, 20, 77,

251 and 370, Istanbul

3. Published Works

- Alderson, A. D. The Structure of the Ottoman Dynasty,
Oxford, 1956
- 'Alī Ḥilmi Fihristü 'l-Kütübi 't-Türkīyeti fi 'l-Kütüb-
hāneti 'l-Ḥidviyye, Cairo 1306
- Altick, R. D. The Art of Literary Research, New York 1963
- 'Aşık Çelebi Meşā'irü 'ş-Şu'arā or Tezkere of 'Aşık Çelebi,
ed. G. M. Meredith-Owens, London 1971
- 'Aşıkpaşa-zāde Tevārīḥ-i Al-i 'Osmāndan 'Aşıkpaşa-zāde
Tariḥi, ed. 'Alī Beg, Istanbul 1332
- Babinger, Franz Die Geschichtschreiber der Osmanen und Ihre
Werke, Leipzig 1927
- Banarlı, N. Sami Resimli Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi, Istanbul 1971
- Barzun, Jacques - Graff, Henry R., The Modern Researcher,
revised edition, New York 1970
- Bloch, E. Catalogue des manuscrits turcs, 2 vols.
Paris 1932
- Bombaci, Alessio, Storia Della Letteratura Turca, Milan 1956
- Bursalı Mehmed Tāhir, 'Osmānlı Mü'ellifleri, vol. I, Istanbul
1333
- Çavuşoğlu, Mehmed, Necātī Bey Divanının Tahlili, Istanbul 1971

- Dirimtekin, Feridun, İstanbulun Fethi, Istanbul 1976
- Elezovic, Glisa Turski Spomenici, 2 vols, Belgrade 1940-52
- Eliot, T. S. Selected Essays, London 1951
- _____ On Poetry and Poets, London 1971
- Enverī Düstūr-nāme-i Enverī, ed. M. Halil, Istanbul 1928
- Ergun, Sadeddin Nüzhet, Türk Şairleri, vol. II, Istanbul 1938
- Evliyā Çelebi Seyāhat-nāmesi, vol. I, Istanbul, 1314
- Ferīdūn Beg Münşe'ātü 's-Selāṭīn, 2 vols, first edition Istanbul 1264; second edition, Istanbul 1274
- Fischer, Sidney Nettleton, The Foreign Relations of Turkey 1481-1512, Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences XXX, I, Urbana 1948
- Fuzūlī Türkçe Divan, ed. Kenan Akyüz, Süheyl Beken, Sedit Yüksel and Müjgan Cunbur, Ankara 1953
- Gibb, E. J. W. History of Ottoman Poetry, 6 vols. reprint London 1958-63
- Giese, Friedrich Die Altosmanischen Anonymen Chroniken, vol. I, Breslau 1922
- Gökbilgin, M. Tayyib, XV ve XVI Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa İlivası Istanbul 1952

- Götz, Manferd Türkische Handschriften, vol. 2, Wiesbaden
1968
- Hammer-Purgstall, Joseph von, Geschichte der Osmanischen
Dichkunst, 4 vols. Pesth, 1836-38
- _____ Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman, trans. J. J.
Hellert, vol. IV, Paris 1836
- Hermeren, Gören Influence in Art and Literature, New Jersey
1975
- Ḥoca Sa'deddīn b. Ḥasan Can, Tācu 't-Tevārīḥ, vol. 1.,
Istanbul 1280
- Ḥüseyin Bedāyi'ü 'l-Vekāyi', 2 vols, ed. A. C.
Tverinitova, Moscow 1961
- Ḥüseyin Ayvansarayī, Hadīkatü 'l-Cevāmi', vol. I, Istanbul
1281.
- Ḥüseyin Ḥüsameddīn, Amasya Tarihi, 4 vols, Istanbul 1327-1928
- İbn-i Kemāl Tevārīḥ-i Āl-i Osmān, VII Defter, ed.
Şerafettin Turan, Ankara 1957
- İnalcık, Halil Fatih Devri Üzerinde Tatkikler ve Vesikalar I,
Ankara 1954
- _____ The Ottoman Empire, The Classical Age 1300-
1600, trans. Norman Itzkowitz and Colin Imber,
London 1973

İpekten, Haluk Karamanlı Nizami, Ankara 1974

İsmā'il Paşa, el-Bağdādī, Hediyetü 'l-'Arifin ve Esmā'ü
'l-Mü'ellifin ve Aşāru 'l-Muşannifin,
vol. 1, Istanbul 1951

Istanbul Kitaplıkları Türkçe Yazma Divanlar Kataloğu, vol. 1,
Istanbul 1947

Istanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri, 953 (1546) Tarihli,
ed. Ö. L. Barkan and E. H. Ayverdi, Istanbul
1970

İz, Fahir Eski Türk Edebiyatında Nazım, vol. 1,
Istanbul 1966

Kâtib Çelebi Keşfü 'z-Zünûn, 2 vols, ed. Kilisli Rifat
Bilge and Şerafeddin Yaltkaya, Istanbul 1941

Kortantamer, Tunca, Leben and Weltbild des altosmanischen
Dichters Ahmedî unter besonderer Berücksichti-
gung seines Diwans, Freiburg 1973

Köprülü, M. Fuad Eski Şairlerimiz, Divan Edebiyatı Antolojisi,
Istanbul 1934

Edebiyat Araştırmaları, Ankara 1966

Kritovulos Tarih-i Sultân Mehmed Hân Sâni, trans. Karolidi,
Istanbul 1328. English translation: History
of Mehmed the Conqueror, trans. Charles T.
Riggs, New Jersey, 1954

- Laṭīfī Tezkire-i Laṭīfī, Istanbul 1314
- Levend, Agah Sırrı, Gazavātnāmeler ve Mihaloğlu Ali Beyin Gazavātnāmesi, Ankara 1956
- _____ Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi, vol.1, Ankara 1973
- Lewis Bernard Istanbul and the Civilization of the Ottoman Empire, Oklahoma, 1963
- Luṭfī Paşa Tevārīḥ-i Āl-i 'Osmān, ed. 'Alī Beg, Istanbul 1314
- Maas, Paul Textual Criticism, trans. from German by Barbara Flower, Oxford 1953
- Mehmed Mecdī Efendi, Hadā'ikü 'ş-Şakā'ik, Istanbul 1269
- Mehmed Süreyyā Sicill-i 'Osmānī, 4 vols. Istanbul 1303-15
- Menage, V. L. A Survey of the Early Ottoman Histories, with Studies on their Textual Problems and their Sources, (Ph.D. London University 1961)
- Müneccimbaşı Ahmed Dede, Müneccimbaşı Tarihi, 2 vols. trans. İsmail Erünsal, Istanbul 1974
- Müştaḳīm-zāde Süleymān Sa'deddīn, Tuhfe-i Ḥaṭṭātīn, ed. İbnü 'l-Emīn Maḥmūd Kemāl, Istanbul 1928
- Mehmed Neşrī Kitāb-ı Cihān-nümā, Neşrī Tarihi, ed. F. R. Unat and M. A. Köymen, 2 vols, Ankara 1949-57

- Özoğul, Mine The Divan of the 15th Century Ottoman Poet Mesîhî, Ph.D. Edinburgh University 1969
- Sanuto, Marino I Diari, vol. XXI, Venezia 1837
- Sehî Tezkire-i Sehî, Istanbul 1325
- el-Shafie, Faiza Fouad, The Ġazeliyât of the 17th Century Ottoman Poet, Nâbî, Ph.D. Edinburgh University 1969
- T.D.K. Şeyhî Divanı, Istanbul 1942
- Tâcî-zâde Ca'fer Çelebi, Maḥrûse-i İstanbul Feth-nâmesi, ed. Ḥâliş Efendi (as a supplement to TOEM 20-21), Istanbul 1331
Simplified text in Latin transcription: Şeref Kayaboğazı, Tuğraî Ca'fer Çelebi, Maḥrûse-i İstanbul Feth-nâmesi, Istanbul 1953
- Tâcî-zâde Sa'dî Çelebi Münşe'âtı, ed. Necati Lûgal and Adnan Erzi, Istanbul 1956
- Tâhir ül-Mevlevî Edebiyât Lûgatı, ed. Kemal Edib Kürkçüoğlu, Istanbul 1973
- Tansel, Selahattin, Sultan Bayezidin Siyasî Hayatı, Istanbul 1966
- _____ Yavuz Sultan Selim, Istanbul 1969

Tarlan, Ali Nihad Necatî Beg Divanı, İstanbul 1963

_____ Şeyhî Divanını Tetkik, İstanbul 1964

_____ Ahmed Paşa Divanı, İstanbul 1966

_____ Zātî Divanı, 2 vols. İstanbul 1968-70

Taşköprü-zāde, Ahmed b. Muştafā, Eş-Şakā'ikü 'n-Nu'māniye fî 'Ulemāi 'd-Devleti 'l-'Osmāniye, (in the margin of Vefeyātü 'l-A'yān) 2 vols. Mısır 1310

Timurtaş, Faruk K., Şeyhî Hayatı ve Eserleri, İstanbul 1963

Tolasa, Harun Ahmed Paşanın Şiir Dünyası, Ankara 1973

Ṭursun Beg Tarih-i Ebu 'l-Feth, ed. Mehmed 'Arif
İstanbul 1330

Uğur, Ahmed The Reign of Sultan Selīm I in the light of the Selīm-nāme Literature, Ph.D. Edinburgh University 1973

Ünsel, Kemal Edib [Kürkçüoğlu], Fatihin Şiirleri, Ankara 1946

Ünver, Süheyl Fatih, Külliyesi ve Zamanı İlim Hayatı,
İstanbul 1946

Uzunçarşılı, İsmail Hakkı, Osmanlı Tarihi, vol. II, Ankara 1949

_____ Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı, Ankara
1965

_____ Çandarlı Vezir Ailesi, Ankara 1974

Wellek, Rene Concepts of Criticism, Newhaven and London
1963

Wellek, Rene - Warren, Austin, Theory of Literature, London 1968

4. Articles

Akpınar, Turgut 'Amasya Tarihi Yazarı Hüseyn Hüsameddin ve
Bilinmeyen Eserleri', Bibliyografya, I,3
(Ankara 1972), pp. 163-8

Altundağ, Şinasi 'Selim I', İA

Anhegger, R. 'Selātinname Müellifi Kemāl', TDED IV, 4,
pp. 447-70.

Ateş, Ahmed 'Metin Tenkidi Hakkında', Türkiyat Mecmuası,
VII-VIII, (Istanbul 1942), pp. 253-67

Barkan, Ö. I. 'Ayasofya Camii ve Eyüb Türbesinin 1489-1491
yıllarına ait Muhasebe Bilançoları', İktisat
Fakültesi Mecmuası XXIII, 23, 1-2 (Istanbul
1962)

Björkman, Walther, 'Die klassisch-osmanische Literature'
Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta, vol. 2,
(Wiesbaden 1964), pp. 426-65

Boškov, Vančo 'Zum Problem des Objects der Liebe in der
osmanischen Diwan-Poesie' in XVIII Deutscher
Orientalistentag, ed. Wolfgang Voigt (Wiesbaden
1974), pp. 124-30. (ZDMG Supplement II)

Gökbilgin, M. Tayyib, Ca'fer Çelebi, İA

Grunebaum, Gustave E. von, 'The Concept of Plagiarism in Arabic Theory' Journal of Near Eastern Studies III (Chicago 1944) pp. 234-53

Hassan, Ihab H. 'The Problem of Influence in Literary History: Notes Towards a Definition', Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, XIV (1955), pp. 66-76

İlaydın, Hikmet 'Anadoluda Klasik Türk Şiirinin Başlangıcı', Türk Dili XXX, 277 (Ankara 1974), pp. 765-74

İlaydın, Hikmet - Erzi, Adnan, 'XVI Asra Aid Bir Münşeât Mecmuası', Belleten, XXI, 82 (1975), pp. 221-52

İnalcık, Halil 'Mehmed the Conqueror (1432-1481) and his Time', Speculum, 35 (1960), pp. 403-27

'The Rise of Ottoman Historiography' in Historians of the Middle East, ed. Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt, (London 1962), pp.152-67

Köprülü, M. Fuad 'Anadoluda Türk Dili ve Edebiyatının Tekamülüne Umumi Bir Bakış', Yeni Türk Mecmuası I, 4-5 (Istanbul 1933)

'Turks', EI

'Ahmed Paşa' İA

- Levend, A. Sirri 'Ümmet Çağı Ahlak Kitaplarımız' TDAYB 1964
(Ankara 1965)
- Mantran, R. Ali Paşa, EI²
- Matuz, J. 'Über die Epistolographie und Insha-Literatur der Osmanen' in Deutscher Orientalistentag 1968, (Wiesbaden 1970), pp. 574-94 (ZDMG Supplement I)
- Menage, V. L. 'Djafer Čelebi', EI²
- Parry, V. J. 'Bāyezid II', EI²
- Plaskowicka-Rymkiewicz, Stanisława, 'Une Etude sur la Stylistique turque: Quelques motifs poetiques dans les oeuvres des poetes du XIII^e siècle: Sultan Veled, Ahmed Fakih et Şeyyād Hamza', Rocznik Orientalistyczny XXXV, 2 (Warsaw 1973) pp. 137-54
- Sohrweide, Hanna 'Dichter und Gelehrte aus dem Osten im Osmanischen Reich (1453-1600), Ein Beitrag zur turkisch-persischen Kulturgeschichte', Der Islam 46 (1970), pp. 263-302
- Tansel, F. A. 'Halīlī', İA
- Tekindağ, M. C. Şehabeddin, 'Yeni Kaynak ve Vesikaların Işığında Yavuz Sultan Selimin İran Seferi', TD XVII, 22 (1968), pp. 49-79
- _____ 'Bayezid'in Ölümü Mes'elesi', TD 24, (1970), pp. 1-16

Timurtaş, Faruk K., 'Şeyhi ve çağdaşlarının Eserleri Üzerinde
Gramer Araştırmaları', TDAYB 1960-1961
(Ankara 1960-62)

'Türkiye Edebiyatı', in Türk Dünyası El
Kitabı, Ankara 1976

Uluçay, Çağatay 'Yavuz Sultan Selim Nasıl Padişah Oldı',
TD VII, 10 (1954) pp. 117-43

Uzunçarşılı, İsmail Hakkı, 'Şah İsmailin Zevcesi Tacılı Hanımın
Mücevheratı', Belleten XXIII 92 (1959)
pp. 611-19

Walsh, J. R. 'The Historiography of Ottoman-Safavid
Relations in the sixteenth and seventeenth
centuries' in Historians of the Middle East,
ed. Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt, (London
1962) pp. 197-211

'Caldıran', EI²

'Turkey: Bibliographical Spectrum' in Review
of National Literatures, IV, 1 (New York 1973),
pp. 115-133

APPENDIX A

Reproduction of Archive Materials

49

تاجی

اور نہ کوئی نام کدہ کلار
چھ وولہ ہالہ این

اور نہ کوئی نام ارغومر
چھ وولہ ہالہ این

اور نہ کوئی نام صونسہ
چھ وولہ ہالہ این

نہ

نہ

اور نہ کوئی نام کدہ کلار
چھ وولہ ہالہ این

اور نہ کوئی نام ارغومر
چھ وولہ ہالہ این

نہ

نہ

اور نہ کوئی نام کدہ کلار
چھ وولہ ہالہ این

نہ

جسم ۱	جسم ۲	جسم ۳	جسم ۴
جسم ۵	جسم ۶	جسم ۷	جسم ۸
جسم ۹	جسم ۱۰	جسم ۱۱	جسم ۱۲
جسم ۱۳	جسم ۱۴	جسم ۱۵	جسم ۱۶
جسم ۱۷	جسم ۱۸	جسم ۱۹	جسم ۲۰
جسم ۲۱	جسم ۲۲	جسم ۲۳	جسم ۲۴
جسم ۲۵	جسم ۲۶	جسم ۲۷	جسم ۲۸
جسم ۲۹	جسم ۳۰	جسم ۳۱	جسم ۳۲
جسم ۳۳	جسم ۳۴	جسم ۳۵	جسم ۳۶
جسم ۳۷	جسم ۳۸	جسم ۳۹	جسم ۴۰
جسم ۴۱	جسم ۴۲	جسم ۴۳	جسم ۴۴
جسم ۴۵	جسم ۴۶	جسم ۴۷	جسم ۴۸
جسم ۴۹	جسم ۵۰	جسم ۵۱	جسم ۵۲
جسم ۵۳	جسم ۵۴	جسم ۵۵	جسم ۵۶
جسم ۵۷	جسم ۵۸	جسم ۵۹	جسم ۶۰
جسم ۶۱	جسم ۶۲	جسم ۶۳	جسم ۶۴
جسم ۶۵	جسم ۶۶	جسم ۶۷	جسم ۶۸
جسم ۶۹	جسم ۷۰	جسم ۷۱	جسم ۷۲
جسم ۷۳	جسم ۷۴	جسم ۷۵	جسم ۷۶
جسم ۷۷	جسم ۷۸	جسم ۷۹	جسم ۸۰
جسم ۸۱	جسم ۸۲	جسم ۸۳	جسم ۸۴
جسم ۸۵	جسم ۸۶	جسم ۸۷	جسم ۸۸
جسم ۸۹	جسم ۹۰	جسم ۹۱	جسم ۹۲
جسم ۹۳	جسم ۹۴	جسم ۹۵	جسم ۹۶
جسم ۹۷	جسم ۹۸	جسم ۹۹	جسم ۱۰۰

Appendix A.2

رستم ۲ دهر ناسا با عظام و میر میرا رستم و ناسا روم ابلی
و دس با عکاس و دس فتره ارلست و توفیق و اعای نکر با ع در کاف
ع ۲ ۲ ۷ رستم المرحه ۱۰۹

دهر مستقیم ناسا ع ۲ ۲ ۷	دهر ع ۲ ۲ ۷	دهر ع ۲ ۲ ۷
مستقیم ناسا ع ۲ ۲ ۷	ع ۲ ۲ ۷	ع ۲ ۲ ۷
مستقیم ناسا ع ۲ ۲ ۷	ع ۲ ۲ ۷	ع ۲ ۲ ۷

مول ع ۲ ۲ ۷	مول ع ۲ ۲ ۷	مول ع ۲ ۲ ۷
ع ۲ ۲ ۷	ع ۲ ۲ ۷	ع ۲ ۲ ۷
ع ۲ ۲ ۷	ع ۲ ۲ ۷	ع ۲ ۲ ۷

ع ۲ ۲ ۷	ع ۲ ۲ ۷	ع ۲ ۲ ۷
ع ۲ ۲ ۷	ع ۲ ۲ ۷	ع ۲ ۲ ۷
ع ۲ ۲ ۷	ع ۲ ۲ ۷	ع ۲ ۲ ۷

قوله: العالمان ونفسه فان في نفسي انوارا
وعالمان ونفوسه وعلمه 2 شهر محرمي 1013

برای نویسی وفات حضرت سلطان محمد طاهر شاه در سنه ۹۱۳

[illegible][illegible]

لونیس کک
انامی کا نام
ورخان عامہ
عامہ لکھ

میرزا کک
معینہ و میرزا
سرور خان
شاہزادہ

نونا کک
قلی میرزا نور
ورخان عامہ
شاہزادہ

اویس کک
دروازہ
ورخان عامہ
شاہزادہ

بکر کک
سونا و صباغ
ورخان عامہ
شاہزادہ

[illegible][illegible]

بابی کر
نظر طوفاة
سوی کسا ف
اسرید
سر علول
کندر
معاظرت
قوله بقره
فوقه

[illegible][illegible]

موروث در میان پسران و دختران
در هر دو طرف ۱۲۴ هـ اعیان و اشیاء
و اربابان و عمارت و خانه

[illegible]

۹۱۲
 ۱۲
 ۲۰
 ۲۱
 ۲۲
 ۲۳
 ۲۴
 ۲۵
 ۲۶
 ۲۷
 ۲۸
 ۲۹
 ۳۰
 ۳۱
 ۳۲
 ۳۳
 ۳۴
 ۳۵
 ۳۶
 ۳۷
 ۳۸
 ۳۹
 ۴۰
 ۴۱
 ۴۲
 ۴۳
 ۴۴
 ۴۵
 ۴۶
 ۴۷
 ۴۸
 ۴۹
 ۵۰
 ۵۱
 ۵۲
 ۵۳
 ۵۴
 ۵۵
 ۵۶
 ۵۷
 ۵۸
 ۵۹
 ۶۰
 ۶۱
 ۶۲
 ۶۳
 ۶۴
 ۶۵
 ۶۶
 ۶۷
 ۶۸
 ۶۹
 ۷۰
 ۷۱
 ۷۲
 ۷۳
 ۷۴
 ۷۵
 ۷۶
 ۷۷
 ۷۸
 ۷۹
 ۸۰
 ۸۱
 ۸۲
 ۸۳
 ۸۴
 ۸۵
 ۸۶
 ۸۷
 ۸۸
 ۸۹
 ۹۰
 ۹۱
 ۹۲
 ۹۳
 ۹۴
 ۹۵
 ۹۶
 ۹۷
 ۹۸
 ۹۹
 ۱۰۰

و غیر اینست که با چهار قوسه از هم
سراسر می باشد
شماره ۱
لغات.

معبر الدین است
امیر اسانول که قاسم قوسه

و غیر اینست که با چهار قوسه از هم
سراسر می باشد
شماره ۲
لغات.

معبر الدین است
امیر اسانول که قاسم قوسه

سون - سون
 معمر - معمر
 شمس - شمس
 دین - دین
 حیات - حیات
 حیات - حیات

روح - روح
 روح - روح
 حیات - حیات
 حیات - حیات

سام - سام
 اول - اول
 اول - اول
 حیات - حیات

حیات - حیات
 حیات - حیات
 حیات - حیات
 حیات - حیات

تصديق
مدكور
2 مره

امام فاضل
قوام امام فاضل
ونور الدين
للانعام في اعيانها

وصير كبر
شاعره حسنة
البحر

فاناد
فاوس
اما في اعني
للانعام

فهرست کتب و اسناد ۹۱۷۷

<p>نسخه و سازمان قوه ی قضاوت در سال ۱۳۵۲ عالمه</p>	<p>نسخه و سازمان قوه ی قضاوت در سال ۱۳۵۲ عالمه</p>
<p>نسخه و سازمان قوه ی قضاوت در سال ۱۳۵۲ عالمه</p>	<p>نسخه و سازمان قوه ی قضاوت در سال ۱۳۵۲ عالمه</p>
<p>نسخه و سازمان قوه ی قضاوت در سال ۱۳۵۲ عالمه</p>	<p>نسخه و سازمان قوه ی قضاوت در سال ۱۳۵۲ عالمه</p>
<p>نسخه و سازمان قوه ی قضاوت در سال ۱۳۵۲ عالمه</p>	<p>نسخه و سازمان قوه ی قضاوت در سال ۱۳۵۲ عالمه</p>
<p>نسخه و سازمان قوه ی قضاوت در سال ۱۳۵۲ عالمه</p>	<p>نسخه و سازمان قوه ی قضاوت در سال ۱۳۵۲ عالمه</p>

۷

۱۷

فصلی اول سنه ۹۰۴

تصدیق برای همه بایزایدی
سرای ابدال راستانبول
۹۰۴ یو عاری اول ۹۰۴
صلح

ایم
مکوردین ۲ مانه منه
مولی سید رسیده
علی باک که قضیه
اوست
لکته
مکوردین ۲ مانه منه
مولی سید رسیده
علی باک که قضیه
اوست
لکته

Appendix A.23

مکوردین اعیان و تصدیق
و یونان و اربابان و عمارت
و نوکوه و عمارت ۲ مانه ۹۱۵

تصدیق
مکوردین ۲ مانه ۹۱۵

مولی سید رسیده
علی باک که قضیه
اوست
لکته
مکوردین ۲ مانه ۹۱۵

مکوردین ۲ مانه ۹۱۵
مولی سید رسیده
علی باک که قضیه
اوست
لکته

مکوردین ۲ مانه ۹۱۵

مولی سید رسیده
علی باک که قضیه
اوست
لکته
مکوردین ۲ مانه ۹۱۵

مکوردین ۲ مانه ۹۱۵
مولی سید رسیده
علی باک که قضیه
اوست
لکته

Appendix A.24

APPENDIX B

Distribution of Ca'fer Çelebi's Gazels
in Mecmū'as

GAZEL NO	Cāmi'ü'n-nezā'ir Eğridirli Kemal Beyazıt K. 5782	Cāmi'ü'n-nezā'ir Edirneli Naẓmī N.Os.K. 4915	Pervāne Bey M. Top.Sarayı K. Bağdad b. 406	Cāmi'ü'n-nezā'ir Üniversite K. T.Y. 2955	Mec. Nezā'ir Ali Emiri K. Manz.Es. 674	Mec. Nezā'ir Üniversite K. T.Y. 1547	Mec. Nezā'ir Top. Sarayı K. Revān b. 1972	Mec. Şuarā-yı K. Üniversite K. T.Y. 752	Mec. Nezā'ir Sül.K. H. Hüsnü Paşa b. 1031
51		II2b	2I3a			I54a			
52	2I8	92a	I30a		74a	I26a		7a	I39a
53									
54									
55		96b	I42a			I33a			
56									
57									
58									
59									
60									
61									
62			I80a		97b		2IIb		
63									
64									
65			I59a						
66									
67		I6Ib	232b			2I2b			
68									
69									
70									
71	29I	I59b	238a	36a		2I0a			
72									
73			268b			I09b			2I5b
74									
75		I73a			I22a	228a			

GAZEL NO	Câmi'ü'n-nezâir Eğridirli Kemal Beyazıt K. 5782	Câmi'ü'n-nezâir Edirneli Naẓmî N.Os.K. 4915	Pervâne Bey M. Top.Sarayı K. Bağdad b. 406	Câmi'ü'n-nezâir Üniversite K. T.Y. 2955	Mec. Nezâ'ir Ali Emiri K. Manz.Bs. 674	Mec. Nezâ'ir Üniversite K. T.Y. 1547	Mec. Nezâ'ir Top. Sarayı K. Revân b. 1972	Mec. Şuarâ-yı K. Üniversite K. T.Y. 752	Mec. Nezâ'ir Sül.K. II. Hüsnü Paşa b. 1031
76			272b						226a
77									
78		I77a	287a	59a	I25a	232a	224b		236a
79									
80		I78b	291a	64b	I28a	234b			
8I									
82									
83		I87a	303b			244b			
84		I89b	307b		I36b	249b	265b		255b
85									
86									
87									
88			324b						
89									
90									
9I		I94b	3I4a	77b		255a			
92									
93		2I9a	353b		I4Ib	287b	3I4a	5Ib	
94									
95		223b	36Ib			297a			
96		206b	360b			272a			
97									
98									
99									
I00		229b	335b			30Ib			

GAZEL NO	Câmi'ü'n-nezâir Eğridirli Kemal Beyazıt K. 5782	Câmi'ü'n-nezâir Edirneli Nazmî N. Os. K. 4915	Pervâne Bey M. Top. Sarayı K. Bağdad b. 406	Câmi'ü'n-nezâir Üniversite K. T. Y. 2955	Mec. Nezâ'ir Ali Emiri K. Manz. Es. 674	Mec. Nezâ'ir Üniversite K. T. Y. 1547	Mec. Nezâ'ir Top. Sarayı K. Revân b. 1972	Mec. Şuarâ-yı K. Üniversite K. T. Y. 752	Mec. Nezâ'ir Sül. K. H. Hüsnü Paşa b. 1031
I01									
I02									
I03		228b	334b						
I04		216b	352a			284b			
I05									
I06									
I07									
I08									
I09									
II0									
III		208a	329b		I45a	273a			270b
II2									
II3		220b	355a			290a			
II4	252								
II5									
II6		239a	370a	82b		315a			
II7									
II8									
II9									
I20									
I21		232a		80a	I49b	305a			
I22			370b						282a
I23									
I24									
I25		236a				311a			

GAZEL NO	Cami' u' n-nezair Fıridirli Kemal Beyazıt K. 5782	Cami' u' n-nezair Edirneli Nazmi N. Os. K. 4915	Pervane Bey M. Top. Sarayı K. Bağdad b. 406	Cami' u' n-nezair Üniversite K. T. Y. 2955	Mec. Neza'ir Ali Emirî K. Manz. Es. 674	Mec. Neza'ir Üniversite K. T. Y. 1547	Mec. Neza'ir Top. Sarayı K. Revân b. 1972	Mec. Şuarâ-yı K. Üniversite K. T. Y. 752	Mec. Neza'ir Sül. K. II. Hüsnü Paşa b. 1031
I51									
I52									
I53									
I54									
I55									
I56									
I57									
I58									
I59									
I60									
I61									
I62		267b	460b			363a			
I63									
I64									
I65									
I66		276a	449b						
I67									
I68		315b				424a			
I69									
I70			504a						
I71		385b			I88b	505b			326a
I72									
I73									
I74									
I75			513a						

GAZEL NO	Câmi'ü'n-nezâir Eğridirli Kemal Beyazıt K. 5782	Câmi'ü'n-nezâir Edirneli Nażmî M.Os.K. 4915	Pervâne Bey M. Top.Sarayı K. Bağdad b. 406	Câmi'ü'n-nezâir Üniversite K. T.Y. 2955	Mec. Nezâ'ir Ali Emiri K. Manz.Es. 674	Mec. Nezâ'ir Üniversite K. T.Y. 1547	Mec. Nezâ'ir Top. Sarayı K. Revân b. 1972	Mec. Şuarâ-yı K. Üniversite K. T.Y. 752	Mec. Nezâ'ir Sül.K. H.Hüsnü Paşa b. 1031
I76									
I77									
I78	697	360a	528a						
I79									
I80		325b	499b			438a			
I81									
I82									
I83		368a	528b	I08b		487a			
I84		328b	518a			442a			
I85			560b						
I86			478b						
I87									
I88									
I89									
I90		257b				475a			
I91									
I92									
I93									
I94									
I95						454a			
I96			505b						
I97									
I98								71b	
I99		249b	525a			467a			
200		265b	509b			484a			

GAZEL NO	Cāmi'ū'n-neẓāir Eğridirli Kemal Beyazıt K. 5782	Cāmi'ū'n-neẓāir Edirneli Naẓmī N.Os.K. 4915	Pervāne Bey M. Top.Sarayı K. Bağdad b. 406	Cāmi'ū'n-neẓāir Üniversite K. T.Y. 2955	Mec. Neẓā'ir Ali Emiri K. Manz.Es. 674	Mec. Neẓā'ir Üniversite K. T.Y. 1547	Mec. Neẓā'ir Top. Sarayı K. Revān b. 1972	Mec. Şuarā-yı K. Üniversite K. T.Y. 752	Mec. Neẓā'ir Sul.K. II. Hüsnü Paşa b. 1031
20I		34Ib	524a			457a			
202									
203									
204									
205		376a	53Ib			495a			
206									
207									
208	804								
209		429b	565b			556a			
2I0		443b	605a						
2II									
2I2									
2I3	837	434b	574a			556a			
2I4									
2I5									
2I6									
2I7		450b				580b			
2I8									
2I9									
220	888	432b	594a			559b			
22I	838	455a				595b			
222									
223			608b				404b		
224									
225		408a	580a			542b			

GAZEL NO	Câmi'ü'n-nezâir Eğridirli Kemal Beyazıt K. 5782	Câmi'ü'n-nezâir Edirneli Naẓmî M. Os. K. 4915	Pervâne Bey M. Top. Sarayı K. Bağdad b. 406	Câmi'ü'n-nezâir Üniversite K. T. Y. 2955	Mec. Nezâ'ir Ali Emiri K. Manz. Es. 674	Mec. Nezâ'ir Üniversite K. T. Y. 1547	Mec. Nezâ'ir Top. Sarayı K. Revân b. 1972	Mec. Şuarâ-yı K. Üniversite K. T. Y. 752	Mec. Nezâ'ir Sül. K. II. Hüsni Paşa b. 1031
226									
227									
228									
229			596b						
230									
231									
232									
233									
234									
235							405a		
236		428a	571b			548a			
237									
238		406a							
239									
240		417a	625b			530b			
241									
242		447b	586b			576b			
243									
244									
245		406a	576a			540b			
246									
247									
248									
249									
250		446b	584a			572b			

